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PAPERS RELATING TO THE CAPTIVITY AND RELEASE OF DAVID II

ACCOUNTS OF SIR DUNCAN FORESTAR OF SKIPINCH, COMPTROLLER 1495-1499

REPORT BY DE LA BROSSE AND D'OYSEL ON CONDITIONS IN SCOTLAND, 1559-1560

THE DIARY OF SIR JAMES HOPE, 1646

AN ACCOUNT OF PROCEEDINGS FROM PRINCE CHARLES' LANDING TO PRESTONPANS

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

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PAPERS RELATING TO THE CAPTIVITY AND RELEASE OF DAVID II

INTRODUCTION

The documents here printed are concerned respectively with the captivity of David II at Odiham Castle from March 1355 to September 1357, followed by his journey to be released at Berwick, and with the subsequent proposal, rejected by the Scottish Estates, that the stipulated ransom of 100,000 marks should be cancelled in return for the King of England or one of his younger sons being recognised as heir if he died childless.

As is well known, David, after being wounded in the head at Neville's Cross, was captured by John Coupland, who was rewarded with a grant of £500 a year for life.[1] Too ill for a long journey, he was kept for ten weeks at Bamburgh until, conducted by John Darcy, he was taken to London, led conspicuously through the streets and lodged in the Tower on January 2nd. There he was at once visited by Edward III's surgeon, Roger de Eyton, perhaps from considerations of the ransom as much as from chivalry.[2]

The first attempt to secure David's release seems to have been made early in 1348 when safe-conducts for a Scottish embassy were given.[3] Nothing was accomplished and by 1350 he was so dejected that to the Pope he expressed his readiness to do homage to the English king and help him in the war against France and, if he died without issue, for Edward or one of his sons to become King of Scotland.[4] At the end of that year his fellow-prisoner, William Douglas of Liddesdale, who had also been captured at Neville's Cross, was sent to Scotland [5] with a proposal that David should be liberated for a ransom of £40,000 and that one of

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[1] *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1346-49, p. 333.

[2] P.R.O., Wardrobe Accounts, E. 101.25.26; Issue Rolls, Michaelmas 1346, E. 403.339 ; Cal. Close Rolls 1346-9, p. 186. Knighton, *Chronicon* (Rolls Series), pp. 44-6.

[3] *Rotuli Scotiae* i. 709.

[4] *Calendar of Papal Registers*, Petitions, p. 203.

[5] *Rotuli Scotiae* i. 737.

Edward's sons should be declared heir to the Scottish crown if he died childless.[1] The Steward at any rate was unlikely to welcome the plan and how unpopular it proved is shown by Edward's offer of help in putting down any rising that might ensue.[2] A visit of David himself in the winter of 1351-2 was no more effectual in persuading his subjects.[3] When agreement was reached two years later for his release in return for a ransom of £60,000 without this condition,[4] its fulfilment was delayed by the renewal of hostilities, including the short-lived recovery of Berwick town (but not the castle) with French help.[5] Meanwhile, David had been sent to Odiham to be in the charge of Sir William Trussell of Cublesdon, with whom he struck up so cordial a friendship that he later asked to have him as escort on the journey to Berwick when he was at last released in 1357.[6]

I

The accounts for the sojourn at Odiham and the journey to Berwick are in the Public Record Office (Exchequer K.R. Accounts Various, E. 101.27.3) together with a number of relevant writs etc., four of which are here printed as an appendix.[7] They show that David reached Odiham on March 7, 1355, that the sergeant-at-arms in charge of him was at first Thomas del Ferie and from July 1357 Bartholomew Imworth.[8] Although no Scot was allowed to approach him without special leave from the king, he was visited both by his own doctor, Hector le Leche, and by Edward's physician, Master Jordan of Canterbury.[9] The accounts give details of his furniture and clothing, down to such items as a kitchen knife, and show that fresh outfit was purchased for him at least each summer and winter, at a total cost of £89, 18s. 0d.

While negotiations with the Scots were proceeding in

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[1] V. post, p. 37.
[2] *Rotuli Scotiae* i. 748.
[3] *Ibid.* 749.
[4] *Foedera* III, 282.
[5] Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* (ed. Amours) viii. 37.
[6] V. post, p. 35.
[7] Pp. 34-5.
[8] V. post, p. 34; also Issue Rolls (Easter 1357), E. 403.387.
[9] V. post, pp. 32-4.

London during the spring of 1357, David was taken to spend seven weeks in the Tower. After returning for the summer to Odiham he left it finally on September 8th. On the 10th he went from London on pilgrimage to Canterbury, spending a night each way at Rochester.[1] The northward journey began on the 14th and Berwick was reached on the 29th. There David stayed for a week, after which a gap of a fortnight in the accounts suggests that he took Trussell with him into Scotland. The return journey of Trussell occupied eleven days as against sixteen on the way north. The reduction of the daily expense from an average of about 40s. to £1 or less suggests that David's suite had been considerably larger than the mere chamber-boy of Wyntoun.[2] A new item during the return consists of hens for falcons, which presumably were presents from David either to Trussell or to Edward III. The last entry shows Trussell and his suite at Wycombe, 20 miles from London, on October 31, whence they may have reached either London or Odiham the following day.

Translations of the more unusual Latin words are given in footnotes the first time they occur. The scribe occasionally uses vernacular forms as sauce, pies and 'steykes'.

II

The other document, which is in the British Museum (Cotton, Vesp. C.XVI ff. 34-40), was brought to my notice by Professor E. L. G. Stones. It purports to be written by one who was a commensal of William Spynie, when the latter was Dean of Aberdeen, drawing on a pamphlet by him and stating that Spynie was present, with Bishop Landallis of St. Andrews, at the Council-General where the proposed alteration of the succession was discussed. As Spynie, who obtained the deanery of Aberdeen in 1388, became Bishop of Moray in 1397, dying in 1406,[3] this

[1] V. post, p. 29.

[2] Withe hym of Inglis broucht he nane
Withe outtyne a chawmir boy allayne.
Wyntoun viii. 38.

[3] Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 156.

account cannot have been originally written later than the first half of the fifteenth century. Indeed, from the mention of Spynie's consecration but not of his death it may be conjectured that it was written during the nine years of his episcopate. Those best qualified to judge, however, are of opinion that the manuscript which we have dates from nearer 1500. If so, it must be a copy and it may be owing to mistakes by a copyist that occasional passages fail to make sense. It is written on thin material with the writing from the reverse pages showing through, so that not a few words are almost or utterly indecipherable. It has been glossed by at least three hands, one of which is that of Sir Robert Cotton himself. Absence of punctuation in the manuscript makes the meaning doubtful, especially towards the end.

While the writer commences by saying that he sets out to relate the arguments put forward by either side in the Council General called by the Steward to consider the terms for David's release which were offered through Douglas of Liddesdale, those which he actually reports can only have been used after the king's liberation and the subsequent failure, which began in 1360, to pay the instalments of the ransom at the due dates. He thus seems to be describing not a Council-General of 1351 but that which rejected in 1364 the terms provisionally suggested in London. These were alternatively (i) that the crown should pass to the King of England and the Disinherited be compensated there, or (ii) that it should pass to a younger son of the English king, the Disinherited be restored in Scotland and a long truce made between the kingdoms.[1] In either case the ransom should be cancelled, and both were conditional on David dying without issue.

After an introduction on the value of history for the task of government the writer briefly summarises the arguments in favour of accepting the English king and proceeds to describe at greater length those for its rejection, which he calls '*fidelis opinio*.' In the end he advocates the acceptance of John of Gaunt as successor, both because, as a

[1] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, I. 134-7.

younger son, he will not be King of England, and because, through his wife's connection with the Scottish Earls of Buchan, the future king would thus be half a Scot.

In editing both documents I have received much help, especially from Professor E. L. G. Stones, Dr. Gordon Donaldson, Dr. C. T. McInnes, Mr. R. G. Latham and Mr. Godfrey Davis. I have modernised capitals and punctuation.

E. W. M. Balfour-Melville.

Particule compoti Willelmi Trussel de Cublesdon, militis, custodis castri de Odiham, de omnibus receptis, misis et expensis per ipsum factis circa David de Bruys, existentem in custodia predicti Willelmi a vii die martis anno regni Edwardi tertii post conquestum Anglie xxix^{no} usque viii diem septembris anno regni predicti xxxi, et ab eodem viii die septembris usque primum diem novembris proxime sequentem, videlicet per duos annos, dimidium et lviii dies.

Idem reddit compotum de xx libris receptis de thesaurario et camerariis ad receptam scaccarii xxvi die martis xxix^{o} per manus Rogeri Maynwaring pro expensis dicti domini David. Et de xix lib. x s. receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem xxvii die Aprilis per manus dicti Rogeri causa predicta. Et de vii libris receptis de eisdem ibidem eodem die per manus ejusdem Rogeri super diversis necessariis pro eodem David. Et de xxii libris receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem xxvii die Junii eodem anno per manus dicti Rogeri. Et de lx libris receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem x die Julii per manus dicti Rogeri anno predicto.

Summa cxxix li.x s.

Et de xiiii libris receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem vii die Octobris anno xxx^{mo} super vadiis predicti David. Et de vi lib. iiii s. receptis de eisdem ibidem eodem die pro diversis necessariis predicti David. Et de x lib. xvii s. receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem xxii die Februarii eodem anno causa predicta. Et de xxxix lib ii s. receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerario ibidem eodem die per manus Thome de Chiryngton. Et de c s. ii d. receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem xi die Julii pro diversis necessariis dicti David. Et de lxxi lib. vii s. x d. receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem predicto xi die Julii anno predicti.

Summa cxlvi li. xviii s.

Et de xxx libris receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem iii die Novembris anno xxxi°. Et de xxxiiii lib. ii s. receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem ix die Novembris eodem anno. Et de xxxiii lib vi s. vii d. receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem xxvii die Januarii eodem anno. Et de x libris receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem primo die Martis eodem anno. Et de lx s. receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem xvii die ejusdem mensis. Et de x libris receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem xi die Martis eodem anno. Et de x libris receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem xviii die ejusdem mensis. Et de vi lib. xiii s. iiii d. receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem eodem. Et de xx libris receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem x die Maii eodem anno. Et de xx s. receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem xxiii die Junii eodem anno. Et de lx s. receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem xv die Julii eodem anno. Et de xl s. receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem xxvii die ejusdem mensis. Et de lv libris receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem xxxi die ejusdem mensis per manus domini Johannis le Cook. Et de lxxi lib. xiii s. iiii d. receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem v die Septembris eodem anno per manus Hugonis capellani et predicti Willelmi. Et de xxv libris receptis de eisdem thesaurario et camerariis ibidem eodem die ejusdem mensis per manus domini Johannis Sharp.

Summa cccxxxiiii li. xiii s. vi d.

Cancellata hic quia non debent onerari quia subtrahuntur in expensis.

Recepta forinseca.

Idem reddit compotum de xlii s. receptis de domino Johanne et uno socio suo pro expensis suis . . . . . de London' usque Berewicum super Twedam, videlicet per xxiiii dies in comitiva predicti domini David.

~~Summa xliii s.~~

Summa totius recepti Dcxi li. xviii d.

~~xii iv s. vi d.~~

De quibus
Expensa.

Idem computat in vadiis predicti domini David Regis Scotie existentis apud Odyham in custodia predicti Willelmi Trussel ab octavo die Martis anno regni Edwardi supradicti xxix° usque viii diem Septembris anno regni regis predicti xxxi° videlicet per Dccccxvi dies utroque die computato ~~quia annus bissextilis accidit infra idem tempus,~~ ipso domino David capiente per diem x s., ccccl viii li. per garrantum. Et in expensis predicti domini David sex septimanas et v dierum (*sic*) commorantis apud turrim regis Londoniensem ad tractandum cum consilio domini regis Anglie et consilio suo Scotie xx li. ultra vadia sua predicta per predictum garrantum.

Summa ccccl xxviii l.

Idem computat in uno lecto de worsted cum tapeta [1] et curtanis emptis pro eodem rege contra festum Pasche eodem anno xxix vi li. xiii s. iiii d. Et in i pari linthiaminum [2] empto pro eodem xxi s. Et in coopertorio furrato cum menefaro xxvi s. viii d. Et in i materas cum ii blankettis pro eodem xxv s. iiii d. Et in ii pulvinaribus [3] cum cindone [4] munda coopertis vi s. Et in ii faldyngis [5] emptis pro eodem xiii s[1] iiii d. Et in ii tapetis pro capella et camera regis predicti x s. et in iii quissinis [6] cindone coopertis x s. Et in una tunica furrata cum pelle contra festum Pasche eodem anno xxvi s. viii d. Et in una roba linata cindone pro estate anno eodem xxx s. Et in uno paltok [7] pro eodem rege x s. Et in una tunica cum toga dupplicata contra festum Sti Michaelis eodem anno xxxiii s. iiii d. Et in uno paltok pro tempore yemali xii s. Et in v paribus caligarum [8] pro eodem inter viii diem Martis et festum Sti Michaelis proxime sequens x[s]. Et in iii paribus panni linei pro eodem per idem tempus xii s. Et in viii paribus sotularium [9] emptis pro eodem per tempus predictum iii d. Et in una roba cum pelura empta contra festum Nativitatis Domini tunc proxime sequens videlicet eodem xxix° lvi s. Et in uno

[1] Hanging. [2] Linen sheets. [3] Cushions or pillows.
[4] Silk or fine linen. [5] Cloths of frieze, perhaps bed-curtains.
[6] Cushions. [7] Doublet. [8] Hose. [9] Shoes.

paltok de fustian cooperto empto contra dictum festum xii s. Et in una tunica cum capitio[1] empto contra dictum festum xvi s. iiii d. Et in iiii^{or} paribus caligarum emptis pro eodem inter dictum festum Sti. Michaelis et predictum festum Nativitatis Domini viii s. Et in ii kerchyfes pro capite regis predicti involvendo iii s. iiii d. Et in iiii^{or} paribus sotularium emptis pro eodem inter festum Sti. Michaelis et predictum festum Nativitatis Domini ii s. viii d. Et in ii paribus panorum lineorum emptis pro eodem infra idem tempus vi s. d. Et in ii mappis[2] pro mensa regis predicti emptis et ii supermappis et ii savenapis[3] cum ii tuallis[4] xxiii s. Et in uno pari cultellorum empto pro mensa ejusdem xiii s. iiii d. Et in una pelvi[5] cum lavatorio[6] empta pro eodem viii s. Et in ii duodenis vasorum stagni[7] emptis pro eodem xxiiii s.

Summa xxvii li. xviii s.

Et in uno pari linthiaminum empto contra festum Pasche anno xxx xxii s. Et in uno superlectulo[8] cum iiii tapetibus empto pro eodem contra dictum festum c s. Et in una tunica empta cum una cloca pro eodem contra eundem festum xlvi s. Et in panno pro una roba pro estate eodem anno empto pro eodem xxvi s. viii d. Et in linura[9] pro eadem roba empta xiii s. iiii d. Et in uno ryban pro caputio predicti domini David xiii s. iiii d. Et in una tunica linata pro hyeme xxiii s. iiii d. Et in vi ulnis panni emptis pro i tunica et una cloca pro eodem tempore anno xxxi incipiente et finiente tricesimo xxxii s. Et in pelura ad easdem iiii li. Et in una uncia de cera pro eisdem cviii d. Et in filo coloris xiiii d. Et in bokeram empto pro eisdem xiii d. Et in uno paltok pro eodem tempore xii s. Et in vi ulnis panni emptis pro una roba contra festum Nativitatis Domini xxxii s. Et in pelura empta pro eadem xxxiii s. iiii d. Et in una zona[10] cum i pouch iiii s. Et in vi paribus caligarum emptis pro eodem eodem anno xviii s. Et in xi paribus sotularium emptis pro eodem eodem anno vii s. iii d. Et in iiii^{or} paribus pannorum lineorum emptis pro eodem infra

---

[1] Hood. [2] Tablecloths. [3] Cloths to protect tablecloths.
[4] Towels. [5] Basin. [6] Ewer.
[7] Pewter. [8] Coverlet. [9] Lining. [10] Belt.

idem tempus xii s. viii d. Et in panno empto pro una tunica et i pari caligarum contra festum Epiphanie xiii s. vi d.

Summa xxiiii li xiii s. iiii d.

Et in ix ulnis panni emptis circa festum Purificationis beate Marie anno xxxi^{o} pro una tunica et una cloca dupplicata emptis xlii s. Et in pelura [1] pro eadem tunica xii s. Et in iii ulnis panni emptis apud Wynchestre pro una tunica pro eodem x s. iii d. Et in panno linei pro linura pro eadem vii d. ob. Et in bokeram et filo emptis pro eisdem vii d. Et in factura xiiii d. Et in pelura pro eadem vi s. viii d. Et in uno paltok xii s. Et in i ulna dimidio panni pro i tunica sine caputio v s. Et in factura ejusdem viii d. Et in uno pari linthiaminum empto eodem anno pro eodem xxii s. Et in una roba pro estate cum linura pro eodem xliii s. Et in iiii^{or} paribus pannorum lineorum emptis pro eodem eodem anno xxxi^{o} xii s. viii d. Et in vi. paribus caligarum emptis pro eodem eodem anno xvii s. ii d. Et in viii paribus sotularium emptis eodem anno v s. iiii d. Et in ii cincturis cum ligulis [2] emptis pro eodem per tempus computi vii s. iiii d. Et in ii kerchefes emptis pro eodem anno xxxi iii s. iiii d. Et in i pina [3] et i speculo [4] emptis pro eodem iii s. iiii d. Et in uno cultello [5] empto pro eodem xiii d. Et in ii paribus de botes emptis pro eodem x s. Et in ii paribus calcarium emptis pro eodem x s. vii d. Et in capelletis [6] pro eodem x d. Et in i sella empta pro eodem xxi s. Et in ii supercingulis [7] viii d.

Summa xii li. x s. ii d.

Et in expensis dicti Willelmi Trussel et suorum servientium circa negotia domini David expedienda ac etiam vadia ipsius David querenda et in ex (*sic*) expensis cujusdam medici pro eodem rege ac etiam in expensis Ectoris le Leche cum valettis et ii equis suis ut patet per quandam cedulam huic rotulo consutam xxiiii li. xvii s. iiii d.

Summa xxiiii li. xvii s. iiii d.

Summa omnium expensarum Dlxvii li. xviii s. x d. ob.

---

[1] Fur. [2] Girdles with latchets. [3] Pin. [4] Mirror
[5] Knife. [6] Chapelets for stirrups. [7] Surcingles.

Memorandum de necessariis pro rege in London super itinere suo versus Scotiam.

Idem computat in iiii^{or} ulnis panni linei emptis vi s. pretio ulne xviii d. Item in factura dicti panni xvi d. Item in duabus malis [1] emptis pro rege xiii s. iiii d. In supersingulis pro sella regis xxiiii d. Item in uno lecto cum iiii tapetis iiii li. xviii s. ii d. In i pari linthiaminum xxii d. In uno blanketo pro lecto dicti regis viii s. vi d. Item in uno canevas v s. vi d. In ribano pro caputio regis xiiii s. In mappis cum ii tuallis et i savenapo xiii s. In ii napironis [2] pro coco emptis xvi d. In i cultello pro coquina ii s. Item soluti pellipario [3] pro roba regis v s. Item cissori [4] pro factura ii paltok pro cerico [5] et bokeram ad et pro factura i robe cum omnibus garniamentis et duabus tuniculis cum duabus clocis xxii s. Et in iii paribus sotularium ii s. viii d.

Summa x li. xvi s. i d.

Item computat in i palfrido empto pro rege cvi s. xi. d. Item in i trottero empto iiii li. Item in i equo maler [6] c s. Et in alio maler empto xl s. Et in uno equo pro fardellis [7] regis empto xxiii s.

Summa xlvii li. ix s. xi d.

Cancellata quia sine warranto :

Liberationes denariorum

Imprimis liberati domino Ricardo de Catesham die veneris proxime post festum Sti. Michaelis apud Berewicum pro expensis suis versus London c s. Item dati valettis suis precepto regis v s. Item liberati Bartolomeo de Imworth ibidem pro expensis suis versus London xx s. et garconi suo xii d. Item liberati Patricio de Dunbar . . . . . ad reginam Scottorum precepto regis vi s. viii d.

~~Summa vi li. xiii s. viii d.~~

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[1] Bags. [2] Aprons. [3] Skinner. [4] Tailor.
[5] Silk. [6] Packhorse. [7] Baggage.

Postea allocati per breve regis datum xviii die Februarii anno xxxii irrotulatum in memorandis rememoratoris regis directum thesaurario et baronibus et camerariis remanens in recepta scaccarii.

Summa totalis istarum cum particularibus xxxiii li. xix s. viii d.

Die veneris. De quibus [1] computat die Nativitatis beate Marie [2] anno supradicto apud Sotesbrok ad cenam: in pane xi d., in servisia [3] xxii d., in vino ii s., in pisce et allece [4] xv d., in ovis iii d., in candelis viii d., in feno [5] xiiii d., in prebendis [6] equorum i quarterium et dimidium avene pretio v s.

~~Summa xiii s. i d.~~

Die sabbati. Item computat apud Stanes: ad gentaculum [7] in pane viii d., in servisia xiii d., in vino xii d., in pisce et allece xiiii d., in feno iiii d. ob., in pane pro equis et avena xx d. Item eodem die apud Kyngeston ad prandium: in pane xv d., in servisia xx d., in vino xv d., in allece ix d., in salmone xii d., in roches [8] et barbellis [9] xxii d. ob., in lochiis [10] iiii d., in sauce [11] i d., in focali [12] iiii d., in feno vii d. ob., in pane pro equis iiii s. i d. ob., in ferura [13] xii d. ob.

Summa xxii s. ii d. ob.

Item eodem die apud London' in pane x d., in servisia iii s., in vino ii s., in i pikerello xvi d., in ovis iii d., in candelis vi d., in focali x d., in lectis ix d., in feno ii s. vi d. ob., in prebendis vi s. ii d.

Summa xix s. viii d. ob.

Die dominica. Item computat ibidem ad gentaculum: in pane xx d., in servisia ii s. ii d., in vino xx d., in carnibus grossis [14] ii s. d x., in columbellis [15] xv d., in pisce xx d., in cepis [16] i d., in candelis vi d., in sale ii d., in focali x d., in lectis vi d., in feno xii d. ob, in prebendis equorum v s. ix d. ob.

Summa xx s. ii d.

Die lune. Item die lune sequenti in London', familia

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[1] This account commences thus with the discharge.
[2] September 8.
[3] Ale.
[4] Herring.
[5] Hay.
[6] Fodder.
[7] Breakfast.
[8] Roaches.
[9] Barbels.
[10] Loaches.
[11] Perh. sauce.
[12] Fuel.
[13] Farriery.
[14] Gross meat, the flesh of large animals.
[15] Pigeons.
[16] Onions.

regis ibidem comorante dum rex erat versus Cantuariam : in pane xx d., in servisia ii s. ii d., in carne ii s. xi d. ob., in candelis iii d., in farina et sale iii d., in focali viii d., in lectis vi d., in feno iii s. ii d., in prebendis equorum iiii s. vi d. ob., in navigio ultra Tamisiam pro negotio regis vii d.

Summa xvi s. ix d.

Die martis. Item computat ibidem : in pane ii s. viii d., in servisia iii s. vi d., in vino iii s. iiii d., in carnibus grossis iii s. xi d., in duabis aucis [1] xviii d., in caponibus emptis xviii d., in iiii pulcinis [2] xvi d., in columbellis x d., in sauce iiii d., in focali x d., in candelis viii d., in lectis x d., in feno pro viginti octo equis per unam noctem et i diem viii s., in prebendis equorum ix s., in letera [3] xii d.

Summa xxxix s. iii d.

Die mercurii. Item computat ibidem in pane iii s. viii d., in servisia vi s. viii d., in vino xiii s. iiii d., in ostriis [4] viii d., in allece et pisce viii s. vi d., in farina et sale iii d., in sauce vi d., in candelis vi d., in focali xviii d., in lectis x d., in feno per duos dies et i noctem pro xxx equis x s. vi d., in prebendis equorum xviii s. viii d., in ferura v s. xi d.

Summa lxxii s. vi d.

Spicies [5] empte. Item eodem die in diversis spiciebus et cera pro rege versus partes boriales emptis xviii s. xi d.

Summa xviii s. xi d.

Item computat liberati eodem die Ricardo de Tottesham militi pro suis expensis in London' per tres dies existenti xx s.

Summa xx s.

Die jovis. Item computat ibidem, videlicet in festo Sancte Crucis,[6] ad gentaculum : in pane xii d., in servisia xviii d., in vino iii s. iiii d., in carnibus grossis iiii s. ix d., in aucis emptis xviii d., in pulcinis xiii d. Item eodem die apud Totenham : in vino ii s. vi d., in pane equino xv d.

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[1] Geese. [2] Chickens. [3] Litter.
[4] Oysters. [5] Spices. [6] September 14.

Item eodem apud Totenham : in vino ii s. vi d., in pane equino xv d. Item eodem die apud Chesthounte ad cenam : in pane ii s. ii d., in servisia ii s. iii d., in vino xx d., in carnibus grossis ii s. viii d., in caponibis et pulcinis ii s. viii d., in sale et persilio [1] i d. ob., in piris iii d., in candelis vi d., in focali xii., in lectis x d., in feno iii s. vi d., in prebendis equorum vi s. viii d., in ferura iii d., in oblatione per regem iiii d.

Summa xlii s., viii d. ob.

Die veneris. Item computat die veneris sequenti ibidem : in servisia i s., in pane equino xiii d. Item eodem die apud Hertforde : in pane et servisia pro garconibus x d., in pisce viii d., in lectis x d., in candelis iiii d., in feno ii s., in prebendis equorum vi s. x d., in ferura iiii d., in emendatione selle regis iii d., in uno supersingulo pro rege iii d.

Summa xiii s. vi d.

Die sabbati. Item computat die sabbati sequenti apud Baldok ad prandium : in pane ii s. vi d., in servisia ii s. viii d., in vino xv d., in pisce et allece vii s. iii d., in farina et sale ii d., in sauce ii d., in focali viii d., in feno xv d., in pane pro equis iii s. vi d. Item eodem die apud Clifton : in servisia vi d. Item apud Schefforde : in servisia et pane pro equis et pro domino Hugone et Johanne Forstere (?) ii d. ob., Item eodem die apud Kemston : in pane vi s. iiii d., in servisia ix s. ix d., in vino xx d., in pisce ii s. iiii d. in ovis iiii d., in candelis x d., in feno iii s. xi d., in prebendis equorum iiii s. ix d.

Summa lii s. ob.

Die dominica. Item computat die dominica sequenti ibidem : in pane de stauro,[2] servisia de stauro, in vino v s., in carnibus grossis v s. ii d., in aucis emptis xx d., in caponibus xvi d., in columbellis xii d. ob., in pulcinis emptis viii d., in alea [3] et cepis v d. ob., in feno vii s. viii d., in prebendis equorum ix s. vi d., in emendacione selle regis et i pari de stiropes pro sella cursarii regis ii s. ii d., in i canevas empto pro fardellis regis x d.

Summa xxxv s. vi d.

[1] Parsley. [2] From store. [3] Garlic.

Die lune. Item computat die lune sequenti ibidem ad gentaculum : in pane xv d., in servisia xvii d., in vino xx d., in carnibus grossis xx d., in duobus caponibus viii d., in iiii pulcinis iiii d. Item eodem die apud Heygham : in pane xii d. ob., in servisia xviii d., in vino xv d., in carnibus xviii d., in i auca v d., in columbellis iiii d., in caseo i d., in pane et avena pro equis iii s. vii d. ob. q. Item eodem apud Ondlee ad cenam : in pane xviii d. ob., in servisia ii s. iiii d., in vino xx d., in carnibus ii s. viii d., in vi pulcinis emptis xv d., in ii aucis x d., in candelis vi d., in lectis x d., in focali xii d., in ferura x d., in feno ii s. x d. ob., in prebendis equorum vi s. ii d., in letera x d., in oblacione per regem per vices v d., in emendacione selle ix d. ob.

Summa xli s. iii d. ob. q.

Die martis. Item computat die martis ibidem ad gentaculum : in pane iiii d. ob., in vino x d., in servisia vi d., in carne pro steykes vi d., in candelis ii d. Item in pane pro equis xv d. Item eodem die apud Stanforde ad prandium : in pane xviii d., in servisia ii s. v d., in vino vi s. ii d. ob., in carne iii s. ix d. ob., in columbellis vi d., in i becoro [1] xviii d., in piris et pomis iii d., in focali vi d., in feno xii d., in pane pro equis iiii s. viii d., in ferura xxxiii d., in elemosina data i d. Et eodem die apud Grantham ad cenam : in pane xviii d., in servisia ii s. xi d. ob., in carnibus grossis ii s. xi d., in pulcinis xvi d., in sauce i d., in focali vii d., in candelis iiii d., in caseo i d., in letera xi d., in ferura iiii d. ob., in stoffura pro sella xii d., in lectis x d.

Summa xli s. iii d. ob.

Die mercurii. Item computat die mercurii sequenti mane ibidem : in pane ad gentaculum regis ii d. ob., in servisia ii d., in vino iii d., in ovis i d., in pane pro equis xiiii d. Item eodem die apud Newerk ad prandium : in pane xxiii d., in servisia ii s. vi d., in vino ii s. vi d., in pisce vii s., in alea i d., in butiro [2] i d., in piris et pomis iii d., in farina i d., in focali vi d., in feno viii d. ob, in pane equino et avena iiii s. vii d., in oblacione ii d., dati i ductori ultra

[1] Beaker ? or perhaps betoro=pestle. [2] Butter.

Trentam ii d. Et eodem die apud Wellowe : in servisia vii d., in pane pro equis xvi d. Item eodem die apud Blithe ad cenam : in pane iiii d., in servisia ii s. viii d. ob., in vino xx d., in pisce iiii d., in ovis iii d., in candelis iiii d., in lectis x d., in expensis unius hominis preeuntis iii d. ob., in feno ii s. viii d., in prebendis equorum viii s. v d. ob., in letera vii d.

Summa xlii s. x d.

Die Jovis. Item computat die jovis sequenti in festo Sti. Mathei apostoli[1] ibidem: in pane iiii d., in servisia de stauro, in vino v d., in carne x d., in cepis ob., in focali ii d., in pane equino ix d. ob., in ferura iiii d. ob., in emendacione selle iii d. Item eodem die apud Daneeastre ad prandium : in pane xviii d., in servisia ii s. i d., in vino xv d., in coquina vi s. vi d., in piris et pomis ii d., in focali iiii d., in feno viii d., in prebendis equorum iiii s. x d. Item eodem die apud Pontefract' ad cenam : in pane xviii d., in servisia ii s., in vino iii s. vi d. ob., in coquina v. s. viii d., in sinapio[2] ob., in caseo iiii d., in candelis iiii d., in focali x d., in lectis xiii d., in feno ii s. vii d., in prebendis equorum vii s. vii d. ob., in ferura xx d., in letera vii d.

Summa xlviii s. iii d. ob.

Die veneris. Item die veneris sequenti ibidem : in pane pro equis iiii d. ob. Item eodem die ad Tadeastre : in servisia vi d. ob., in vino vii d. ob., in pane equino xx d. ob. Item eodem die ad Eboracum : in pane iii s. iii d. ob. in servisia v s. viii d., in vino v s. iii d., in coquina vii s. vii d. ob., in almandis et risa ii d. ob., in prunis ii d. ob., in pisis[3] pro potagio iii d., in piris et pomis vii d., in sauce iiii d., in candelis viii d., in uno equo conducto de Pontefracto usque Eboracum xii d., in uno duce adducente regem ad hospicium ii d., in ii colariis de corco pro palfrido et cursario regis xvi d., in focali xii d., in feno vi s. i d., in prebendis equorum vii s. vi d. q., in lectis xi d., in letera pro equis xii d., in cera iiii s. x d., in emendacione selle regis iiii d.

Summa xlviii s. vii d. q.

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[1] September 21. [2] Mustard. [3] Peas.

Die sabbati. Item die sabbati sequenti : in candelis ii d., in focali pro camino [1] regis ii d. Item eodem die apud Helperbye ad prandium : in pane xx d., in servisia ii s., ix d. ob., in vino xx d., in pisce iiii s. xi d., in ovis iii d., in buttiro iii d. ob., in caseo iii d. ob., in cepis ii d., in sauce i d., in focali iii d., in i paniero empto pro victualibus portandis iii d., in pane et avena pro equis iii s. viii d. ob. Item dati uni ductori ultra forestam de Saltre iiii d., in elemosina i d., in teloneo i d. Item eodem die apud Treskis [2] ad cenam : in pane x d., in servisia xx d., in pisce xii d., in ovis ii d., in sinapio ob., in lectis xi d., in candelis iiii d., in feno iii s. iii d., in prebendis equorum vii s. ii d., in letera vii d.

Summa xxxiii s. i d. ob.

Die dominica. Item die dominica proxime post festum Sti Mathei apostoli apud Northaltherton ad prandium : in pane xviii d., in servisia ii s. ii d., in coquina v s. iii d., in vino v d., in focali vi d., in feno viii d. ob., in pane pro equis ii s. xi d. Item eodem die apud Derlyngton : in pane xviii d., in servisia viii d., in vino xv d. ob., in pane pro equis ii s. d d. Item eodem die apud Acleve [3] ad cenam : in pane xviii d., in servisia ii s. xi d., in coquina v s. iii d., in candelis iiii d., in focali vi d., in lectis xi d., in feno iii s. iiii d. in prebendis equorum vi s. xi d., in letera xi d., in ferura xiii d.

Summa xlii s. xix d. ob.

Die lune. Item die lune sequenti apud Durram ad gentaculum : in pane xiiii d., in servisia xx d., in vino xx d., in coquina v s., in feno xi d., in pane equino iiii s. Item eodem die apud Novum Castrum ad cenam : in pane ii s. viii d., in ferura iii s. vi d., in vino iii s. iiii d., in coquina vii s. xi d., in sale et farina iii d., in candelis vi d., in cepis i d., in focali x d., in lectis xi d., in feno iii s. i d., in prebendis equorum viii s. viii d. ob., in emendacione sellarum xii d., Item dati lotrici [4] pro naperia lavanda vi d. in letera vi d.

Summa xlviii s. ii d. ob.

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[1] Hearth. [2] Thirsk [3] Aycliffe [4] Laundress.

Die Martis. Item die martis ibidem : in pane vi s. ix d., in servisia viii s., in vino viii s. x d., in coquina vii s., iii d., in frumento pro potagio ii d., in lacte ad idem ii d., in pesocoddes ii d., in sale i d. ob., in sauce ii d., in lectis xi d., in candelis iiii d., in feno pro i die et i nocte v s. vi d. in prebendis equorum xi s. vii d., in ferura iiii s. vi d. ob., in emendacione sellarum domini Hugonis, Rogeri de la Husse et Willelmi de Hatham vii d. ob. Item dati pro mutatione trium nobilium de auri iii d.

Summa lv s. iiii d. ob.

Die mercurii. Item computat die mercurii sequenti apud Morpat ad prandium : in pane iii s. vii d., in servisia iiii s., in coquina iiii s. vi d., in butiro iii d., in feno xii d. ob., in avena iiii s. vi d. Item eodem die apud Alnewik ad cenam : in pane ii s. vi d., in servisia iii s. x d., in coquina vi s. vi d., in sale ii d., in candelis vi d., in focali x d., in feno iii s. vi d., in prebendis equorum vii s. viii d., in letera xi d., in ferura ob.

Summa xlv s. ii d.

Die jovis. Item die jovis sequenti mane ibidem : in pane xii d., in servisia xx d., in candelis i d., in feno iiii d., in avena xv d. ob. Item eodem die apud Belford : in servisia xii d., in avena iii s. i d. Item eodem die apud Twedemouth : in pane et feno pro equis xiiii d., in navigio ultra Twedam ii s. Item eodem die apud Berewicum ad cenam : in pane vii s. iii d., in servisia x s. viii d., in carnibus grossis iii s. iii d., in caponibus et pulcinis xx d., in candelis viii d., in carbonibus ii s., in stramine pro lectis ii s., iiii d., in feno v s., in prebendis equorum x s. vi d.

Summa liiii s. xi d. ob.

Die veneris. Item computat die veneris in festo Sti. Michaelis [1] apud Berwicum : in pane vii s. vi d., in servisia viii s. iiii d., in pottagio vi d., in salmone ii s. viii d., in haddok, plais, codlyng et merlyng iii s., in butturio iii d., in allecibus xvii d., in alamandis et risis vi d., in sanipio et

[1] September 29.

gingivere xii d., in farina iiii d., in sale xii d., in alea et cepis iii d., in figis et reisinis iiii d., in candelis x d., in oleribus [1] ii d., in discis [2] emptis xii d., in ciphis [3] emptis xii d., in sex ulnis de canabo emptis pro tabulis armigerorum iii s. vi d., in iii ulnis de canabo emptis pro tabulis garcionum xxi d., in oblacione per vices ix d., in nucibus emptis pro rege per vices vi d., in elemosina data per regem iii d., in prebendis equorum vii s. ii d., in feno de stauro.

Summa xlviii s.

Die sabbati. Item die sabbati sequenti ibidem : in pane vi s. xi d., in servisia viii s. xi d., in salmone ii s. vi d., in haddok, codlyng, merlyng et muskles ii s. vi d., in oleribus ii d., in carbonibus ix d., in feno ix s. iv d., in pane pro equis v s. viii d. ob., in ferura iii d., in papera pro literis regis iiii d., in cera vi s. vi d.

Summa xlix s. iv. d. ob.

Die dominica. Item die dominica sequenti ibidem : in pane vii s. vi d., in servisia viii s. ix d., in carnibus grossis vi s. vii d., in aucis et pulcinis iii s. vi d., in ovis vi d., in oleribus iii d., in oblacione iiii d., in carbonibus xii d., in pottagio vi d., in focali pro camino regis ii s., in candelis x d., in duabus trussis de feno xviii d., in pane pro equis v s. vi d., in avena iiii s. ii d., in i novacula [4] pro dorsis equorum rasandis ii d.

Summa xliii s. i d.

Die lune. Item computat die lune sequenti ibidem : in pane viii s., in servisia x s., in carnibus grossis vii s. x d., in pulcinis ii s. ix d., in sale et farina vii d., in cepis vi d., in carbonibus ii s., in candelis viii d., in avena vi s. ix d., in pane equino ii s. xi d., in pottagio viii d., in feno iii s. iiii d.

Summa xlvi s.

Die martis. Item computat die martis sequenti ibidem : in pane vii s. x d., in servisia ix s. iii d., in carnibus grossis vi s. x d., in frumento et lacte pro potagio vi d., in tribus caponibus et iii aucis iii s. ii d., in carbonibus iii s. ii d.,

[1] Vegetables. [2] Dishes. [3] Cups. [4] Razor.

in pane pro equis iii s. x d., in avena v s. x d., in oblacione ii d., in candelis vi d.

Summa xli s. i d.

Die mercurii. Item computat die mercurii sequenti ibidem: in pane v s. xi d., in servisia vii s. vi d., in salmonibus ii s. viii d., in hadak et merlyng iii s. viii d., in butiro iii d., in alea i d., in sale et farina iiii d., in oleribus iii d., in focali xvii d., in candelis vi d., in feno ix s. vi d., in pane pro equis viii s. ii d., in unguento pro equis iiii d. Item dati uni carpentario facienti tressellas et formulas [1] iiii d.

Summa xli s.

Die jovis. Item computat die jovis sequenti ibidem : in pane vi s. ii d., in servisia vii s. viii d., in carnibus grossis v s. iii d., in caponibus et gallinis [2] xx d., in aucis xxii d., in sale ii d., in alea i d. Item in carnibus ad cenam pro Scottis supervenientibus iii s. iiii d., in pulettis xv d., in candelis iiii d., in carbonibus xvi d., in potagio viii d., in pane et avena pro equis viii s. viii d., in feno iii s. iiii d., in cera ii s.

Summa xliii s. vi d.

Summa totalis expensa ex ista parte rotuli lix li. viii s.

Die veneris. Item computat die veneris sequenti apud Berewicum : in pane v s. viii d., in servisia vi s. xi d., in salmonibus ii d. viii d., in allece, haddok et merlyng et codlyng v s. iii d., in oleribus et farina ii d., in alamandis et risa viii d., in sauce ii d., in pottagio viii d., in feno ii s. viii d., in pane pro equis v s. vi d., in ferura ii s. ii d., Item dati lotrici ibidem viii d. Item dati uni garcioni in coquina auxilianti viii d.

Summa xxxiii s. v. d.

Item in vino pro expensis hospitii regis per octo dies ibidem ibidem (*sic*) comorantis lxiiii s.

Summa lxiiii s.

[1] Benches. [2] Hens.

Die jovis in crastino Sti. Luce [1] apud Berewicum in revertendo ad cenam : in pane xx d., in servisia ii s. viii d. ob., in carnibus grossis xviii d., in ii gallinis vi d., in vino xiii d., in oleribus ii d., in farina et sale ii d., in alea i d., in focali viii d., in candelis xviii d., in prebendis equorum iiii s. ii d., in lectis iiii d.

Summa xiiii s. ix d. ob.

Die veneris. Item computat die veneris sequenti ibidem : in pane xvi d., in servisia ii s., in vino ii s. x d., in pisce iii s., in alamandis et risis vi d., in ii pulcinis pro fauconibus iiii d., in ii cepis i d., in lectis iiii d., in ferura ii s., in pottagio i d. ob., in feno xx d., in prebendis equorum vii s. x d. ob., in oleo pro equis unguendis xii d.

Summa xxiii s. i d.

Die sabbati. Item computat die sabbati apud Twedemouth : in pane et servisia pro garcionibus vi d. ob., in feno et avena pro equis ibidem viii d. ob., in navigio ultra Twede xx d. Item eodem die apud Banbourgh : in feno et avena pro equis xii d. Item eodem die apud Alnewik ad noctem : in pane iiii d., in servisia xiiii d. ob., in vino vi d., in candelis iiii d., in lectis ix d., in feno xviii d., in prebendis equorum v s. x d., in ferura ii d., in i gallina pro fauconibus ii d. ob.

Summa xiiii s. ix d.

Die dominica. Item computat die dominica sequenti : dati uni ductori de Alnewik usque Morpat iiii d., in pane ibidem xvi d., in servisia xx d., in carne xiii d., in feno iii d. ob., in pane pro equis et avena ii s. vi d., in farina et sale i d., in focali ii d., in oblacione i d., in gallinis pro fauconibus ii d. ob. Item eodem die apud Novum Castrum ad cenam : in pane xiii d., in servisia xviii d., in vino xx d., in carne ix d. ob., in i auca v d., in columbellis ix d., in pulcinis vi d., in sale et persilio id., in cepis et alea i d., in lectis vi d., in unguento pro equis i d. ob., in feno xxii d., in pane pro equis v s. ix d. in ferura xv d. ob.

Summa xxiiii s. vi d. ob.

[1] October 19.

Die lune. Item computat die lune sequenti apud Durram ad gentaculum : in pane xiiii d. ob., in servisia xv d., in aucis x d., in i capone iii d., in pies [1] x d., in pane pro equis ii s. xi d. ob., in vino v d. Item eodem die apud Derlyngton ad cenam : in pane xii d., in servisia xvi d., in vino vi d., in coquina ii s. v d., in lectis v d., in focali iii d., in candelis iiii d., in feno xii d., in avena et pane pro equis iiii s. iii d., in letera iii d.

Summa xix s. vi d.

Die martis. Item computat die martis sequenti mane ibidem : in pane i d., in servisia i d. ob., in vino ii s. iii d., in carne i d., in pane pro cquis iiii d. ob. Item eodem die apud Northaltherton ad prandium : in pane vii d., in servisia x d., in focali i d., in alea ob. in feno iii d., in pane pro equis xxi d., in ferura ii d. Item eodem die apud Tresks : in servisia ii d., in pane pro equis vi d. Item eodem die apud Tolarton ad cenam : in pane x d., ob. in servisia ii d., in coquina ii s. iiii d., in farina et sale i d., in candelis iiii d., in focali iii d., in lectis ix d., in feno xxi d., in prebendis equorum iiii s. vi d., in littera vii d.

Summa xx s. ix d. ob.

Die mercurii. Item computat die mercurii sequenti proxime ante festum Simonis et Jude [2] apud Eboracum : in pane xiii d. ob., in servisia xlii d., in vino x d., in pisce ii s. i d. ob., in alea ob., in focali vi d., in feno xi d., in avena et pane pro equis ii s. vi d., in ferura ii s. iii d., in ii capistris [3] i d. ob., in carne pro falconibus i d., in stoffura pro sella xii d., in i pari de reynis ad frenum domini vi d., in ii paribus sotularium pro garcione xii d., in oblacione i d. Item eodem die apud Schirborne : in servisia iiii d. ob., in pane pro equis xxii d. ob., Item eodem die apud Pontefractum ad cenam : in pane x d., in servisia xiii d., in coquina xvi d., in candelis iii d., in focali iii d., in lectis vi d., in feno xviii d., in prebendis equorum iii s. ix d., in letera ii d., in unguento pro equis i d.

Summa xxv s. vii d.

[1] Pies. [2] October 25. [3] Halters.

Die jovis. Item die jovis sequenti ibidem : in pane i d., in servisia ii d. ob., in vino v d., in pane equino xii d., in ferura iiii d. ob. Item eodem die apud Danecastre ad cenam : in pane xiii d., in servisia xxii d., in vino x d., in coquina iii d., iii d. ob., in lectis vii d., in candelis iiii d., in focali iii d., in feno xxii d., in prebendis equorum v s. iiii d., in ii capistris ii d. ob.

Summa xvii s. viii d.

Die veneris. Item computat die veneris sequenti apud Blythe : in pane pro garcionibus i d., in servisia iiii d., in feno iiii d., in avena et pane pro equis xvi d. Item eodem die apud Tokesforde : in pane xiiii d. ob., in servisia xviii d., in vino v d., in pisce et allece xxii d., in ovis ii d., in butiro iii d., in feno ii d., in avena et pane pro equis xviii d. ob. Item eodem die apud Newerk ad cenam : in pane iiii d., in servisia xiiii d., in vino v d., in allece pro garcionibus iii d., in candelis iiii d., in lectis vii d., in focali ii d., in feno xvi d., in prebendis equorum v s. vii d., in i gallina pro falconibus ii d., in i capistro i d.

Summa xix s. vii d.

Die sabbati. Item computat die sabbati sequenti apud Grantham ad prandium: in pane xiii d., in servisia xii d. ob. in vino x d., in coquina iii s. vii d., in sinapio ob., in focali iii d., in feno v d. ob., in pane pro equis xxiii d. Item eodem die apud Stanforde ad noctem : in pane iiii d. ob., in servisia xv d., in vino vii d. ob., in candelis iii d., in focali ii d., in lectis viii d., in feno xv d., in prebendis equorum iiii s. iiii d., in letera vi d.

Summa xviii s. ix d. ob.

Die dominica. Item computat die dominica proxime ante festum Omnium Sanctorum [1] apud Oundlee : in pane xiii d. ob., in servisia xviii d., in coquina ii s. ii d. ob., in farina i d., in focali ii d., in feno iiii d. ob., in pane pro equis xxii d., in ferura vi d. Item eodem die apud Heytgham ad cenam : in pane xi d., in servisia xviii d., in

[1] October 29.

coquina xix d., in candelis iiii d., in focali iii d., in lectis vii d., in feno xvi d., in prebendis equorum iiii s. vi d., in letera iiii d., in piris et nucibus ii d.

Summa xix s. iii d. ob.

Die lune. Item die lune proxime sequenti apud Kemston : in pane xiiii d., in servisia xviii d., in vino x d., in carnibus grossis xvi d., in i auca v d., ob., in iiii pulcinis iiii d., in feno iiii d. ob., in avena xx d., Item eodem die apud Donstaplee ad cenam : in pane xii d., in servisia xvii d., in vino x d., in coquina xxi d., in candelis iiii d., in focali iii d., in lectis vii d., in feno xviii d., in prebendis equorum iiii s. vi d., in letera vi d.

Summa xi s. vi d.

Die martis. Item computat die martis apud Berhamstede ad gentaculum : in pane xi d., in servisia xiiii d., in vino vii d. ob., in coquina xvii d., in feno iiii d. ob., in pane equino xviii d. Item eodem die apud Wycombe : in pane xii d., in servisia xiiii d., in vino v d., in coquina xvi d. ob., in pane pro equis xix d. ob.

Summa xi s. i d. ob.

Summa istius rotuli ex ista parte usque hic xvii li. vi s. i d. ob.

Expensa regis de London' versus Cantuariam cum xvi equis.

In primis apud Dorteforde die dominica proxime post festum beate Marie [1] : in pane x d., in servisia xiiii d., in vino ii s. vi d., in coquina iii s., in feno vi d., in pane equino xviiii d., in avena vi d., in ferura xii d., in piris et pommis iii d., dati cuidam histrioni [2] xii d. Item eodem die apud Schyngleawels [3] in pane ii d., in carnibus assatis [4] viii d., in pane pro equis xiiii d., in vino xv d., in servisia ii d., in nucibus i d., in elemosina dati iiii d. Item eodem die apud Rouchestre ad cenam : in pane xii d. ob., in servisia xv d., in vino ii s. vi d., in coquina iiii s. ii d., in lectis vi d., in candelis iiii d., in foco vi d., in sauce ii d., in feno xvi d., in prebendis equorum iiii s. viii d., in letera vi d. Et in equis conductis de ouchestre Rusque Cantuariam et de Cantuaria usque Rouchestre vi s. viii d.

Summa xxxix s. ix d. ob.

Item die lune ibidem mane : in pane ii d. ob., in vino x d., in pane pro equis iiii d. ob. Item eodem die apud Neupton [5] : in pane vi d., in servisia viii d., in vino xii d. ob., in carnibus assatis xii d., in pane pro equis xiiii d., in aucis iiii d. Item eodem die apud Cantuariam : in pane viii d., in servisia xii d., in vino xx d., in coquina iii s. viii d., in oblatione xviii d., in elemosina dati xii d., in feno vii d., in pane pro equis xiiii d., in gingiuere et pulvere de galentyn vi d., in cepis ii d., in sauce ii d. Item dati uni histrioni precepto regis ii s. Item dati Thome Casteneys precepto regis et Rogero de la Husse xii d., in iiii capistris iiii d. Item eodem die apud Ospringes in revertendo : in pane ii d., in vino x d., in pane pro equis xvi d. Item eodem die apud Rouchestre ad noctem : in pane ix d., in servisia x d., in vino ii s. vi d., in coquina iiii s., in candelis iiii d., in focali vi d., in lectis vi d., in piris et nucibus vi d., in cepis i d., in sauce ii d., in feno xvi d., in prebenda equorum iiii s. viii d., in uno supersingulo iiii d., in ferura iiii d. ob. in letera iiii d.

Summa xli s. xi d.

[1] September 10. [2] Player. [3] Singlewell. [4] Roast meat. [5] Newington.

Item die martis mane ibidem : in pane iii d., in servisia iiii d., in vino x d., in carne bovina pro steykes iiii d., in pane equino xii d. Item dati hostilario precepto regis vi d. Item dati fabro precepto regis xii d. Item eodem die apud Schyngleawell : in pane ii d., in vino x d., in pane pro equis x d. Item dati pauperibus iiii d. Item dati uni homini de comitatu Lancastre vi d. Item eodem die apud Cottesforde ; in pane viii d., in servisia xii d., in vino ii s. vi d., in coquina ii s., in pane equino et avena xx d., in feno iii d., in solutione pro equis conductis de Cantuaria usque Dorteforde ii s. vi d. Item soluti pro fractione unius ciphi de maser [1] iii s. iiii d. Item in piris et pommis ii d., in elemosina i d. Item eodem die apud Wellyng ; in pane ii d., in vino x d., in servisia iiii d., in pane equino xii d., in piro iii d.

Summa xxiii s. vi d.

Summa totalis istarum particularum cev s. iii d. ob.

Cancellata quia sine warranto

Item computat in xviii ulnis panni lanuti pro ii capellanis et vi armigeris assignatis pro dicto David versus Scotiam lii s. pretio ulni ii s. vi d. Et in xviii ulnis pro vi valettis dicto David assignatis xxxi s. vi d. pretio ulni xix d. et xiii ulnis panni cerici pro vi garcionibus dicto regi assignati xiiii s. pretio ulni xiii d.

~~Summa iiii li. xvi s. vi d.~~

Summa totalis istius rotuli ex ista parte clxii li. viii s. vii d.

Summa totalis expensarum liberatorum denariorum cxxi li. xix s. iiii d. xx

Summa omnium expensarum Dciiiiix li viii s. i d. ob.

Allocati Dclix li. xii s. vii d. ob.

Et habet superplus ~~lxxvi li. iii s. vii d.~~

xlviii li. xi s. i d. ob.

[1] Mazer, drinking-cup.

Cancellata quia sine warranto tota ista cedula.

Idem computat in expensis Rogeri Maynwaryn apud London' pro vadiis David de Bruys querendis videlicet xx die Martis anno regni xxix^{o} ibidem per sex dies comorantis—vi s.

Idem computat in expensis dicti Rogeri apud London' pro vadiis dicti David querendis videlicet xix^{o} die Aprilis ibidem per octo dies comorantis—viii s.

Idem computat in expensis dicti Rogeri apud London' pro vadiis dicti David querendis xx^{o} die Julii ibidem per vii^{tem} dies comorantis—vii s.

Idem computat in expensis eiusdem Rogeri apud London' pro vadiis dicti David querendis, videlicet i^{o} Julii ibidem per ix dies comorantis—ix s.

Idem computat in expensis Rogeri de la Husse apud London' pro vadiis dicti David querendis videlicet vii^{o} die Octobris ibidem per quinque dies comorantis—v s.

Idem computat in expensis eiusdem Rogeri apud London' pro vadiis dicti David querendis ultimo die mensis Octobris ibidem per vii^{tem} dies comorantis—vii s.

Idem computat in expensis eiusdem Rogeri et Johannis Charp apud London' pro vadiis et aliis negociis dictum David tangentibus videlicet xxii die Februarii per xi dies.—xxii s.

Idem computat in expensis eiusdem Rogeri apud London' pro vadiis dicti David videlicet v^{to} die Jull a^{o} xxx^{o} ibidem per ix dies comorantis—ix s.

Idem computat in expensis eiusdem Rogeri apud London' pro vadiis dicti David querendis videlicet i^{o} die Novembris ibidem per x dies comorantis—x s.

Idem computat in expensis eiusdem Rogeri apud London' et Roberti de Waltham pro vadiis dicti David et aliis necessariis emendis videlicet vii^{o} die Novembris ibidem per x dies comorantium—xx s.

Idem computat in expensis eiusdem Rogeri apud London' pro vadiis dicti David querendis xiii^{o} die Januarii ibidem per viii^{o} dies comorantis—viii s.

Idem computat in expensis eiusdem Rogeri apud London'

pro vadiis dicti David querendis videlicet i° die Martis ibidem per vi dies comorantis—vi s.

Idem computat in expensis Johannis Scharp apud London' pro vadiis dicti David querendis et aliis necessariis sibi emendis videlicet x die Martis ibidem per v dies comorantis—v s.

Idem computat in expensis eiusdem Johannis et Rogeri de la Husse apud London' pro vadiis dicti David querendis ibidem per ix dies comorantis—xviii s.

Idem computat in expensis dicti domini Johannis et Rogeri de la Husse apud London' pro vadiis dicti David querendis xx die Junii ibidem per xii dies comorantium —xxiiii s.

Idem computat in expensis domini Hugonis et eiusdem Rogeri apud London' pro vadiis dicti David et aliis necessariis ipsum tangentibus videlicet xxviii° die Julii per xii dies ibidem comorantium—xxiiii s.

Idem computat in expensis Rogeri de la Husse versus Southamton pro vadiis dicti David querendis per ii vices videlicet per x [dies]—x s.

Idem computat in expensis domini Johannis Scharp et Rogeri de la Husse apud Estche pro negociis dicti David coram domino cancellario per iii vices—iii s.

Idem computat in expensis domini Hugonis apud London' videlicet xiiii die Septembris pro robis et sella pro dicto David de garderoba domini nostri regis Anglie assignatis pro itinere suo versus Scociam ibidem per xiiii dies comorantis—xiiii s.

Idem in expensis domini Willelmi Trussell versus Loddegarshal ad dominum regem Anglie pro negociis dicti David expediendis xiii s. iiii d.

Idem computat in expensis domini Johannis Scharp et Hugonis Whit apud London' xxiii° die Januarii anno xxxi° ibidem super computo de expensis dicti David per xii dies comorantium—xxiiii s.

Summa xii. li. xiii s. iiii d.

Idem computat in expensis Magistri Jordan fisici domini regis Anglie apud Odiham cum iiii^{or} equis per assignationem

domini regis pro cura David de Bruys ibidem comorantis per xii dies—xlviii s. capientis per diem iiii s.

Ista particula postea allocata per breve regis datum xviii^{o} *die Februarii anno xxxii*^{o} *irrotulatum in memorandis rememoratoris regis termino Hillarii anno eodem residens ad receptam scaccarii.*

Idem computat in expensis Ectoris le Leche et Patricii de Aberden comorantium apud Odiham cum ii equis a festo Ascencionis anno tricesimo primo usque ad festum Nativitatis beate Marie proxime sequentem per iiii^{xx}xviii dies ipso Ectore capiente per diem pro se socio suo et equis suis ii s.—ix li. xvi s.

Summa huius cedule xxiiii li. xvii s. iiii d.

APPENDIX

Ceste endenture faite a Odiham en le castel le setisme iour de marcs l'an du regne notre seigneur le Roi Edward tierces puis le conquete Dengletere vint et noefisme parentre Monsieur William Trussell de Cubblesdon gardein de castel de Odiham dune partie et Thomas de Ferry, Robert de Ledrede et William Walklatt sergeantz darmes notre dit seigneur le Roi dautre partie tesmoigne que le iour de la fesaunce de ceste le avandit Monsieur William Trussell ad rescu de dists Thomas, Robert et William le corps Monsieur David de Bruys a Odiham en castel susdite en bone sauntee par comandement notre dit seigneur le Roi. En tesmoignance de quele chose a y ceste endentures les ditz Monsieur William Trussell Thomas Robert et William entrechangeablement ount mys lour sealz. Escriptz a Odiham le iour et an susditz.

Three small seals attached.

Depar le roi.

Trescher et foial. Nous envoions a devers David de Bruys notre prisoner notre bien ame fisicien Maister Jordan de Canterbirs pour vœr son estat et lui eider, et conseiller si mester soit des choses touchantes son office. Si vous mandons que vous lui sœffrez approcher au dit David et parler et communer ovesque lui pour la cause susdite. Donne souz notre prive seal a Westminster le xvii iour de Januer.

Edward par la grace de Dieu Roi Dengleterre et de France et Seigneur Dirlande a notre cher et foial William Trussel gardein de notre chastel de Odyham saluz. Porce que nous avons ordene et assigne notre ame sergeant darmes Bartholomu de Ymworth a demorer en notre dit chastel sur la sauve garde de David de Bruys notre prisoner en maniere come Thomas del Ferie y demora nadgaires

par notre commandement vous mandons que le dit Bartholomu receviez a demorer illœqes sur la sauve garde du dit David en la maniere susdite. Donne souz notre prive seal a Westminster le primer iour de Juyl lan de notre regne Dengletere trente primer et de Franee disoytisme.

Depar le Roi.

Porce que David de Bruys notre prisoner descoce nous ad requis que vous puissez travailler ovesque lui devers le North quele chose nous lui avons octroie si vous mandons et chargeons que vous soiez a Londres y ce samedy apres la Nativite de notre Dame prochein avenir a nuyt ovesque le dit David et votre moisnee prests et apparillez de aler illœqes ovesque le dit David a Canterbirs et de retorner pardevers Londres et aussint de aler devers le North en sa compagnie selonc notre promesse avantdite. Et ce en nulle manere ne lessez toutes excusacions cessantes. Donne souz notre prive seal a Westmonster le vi iour de Septembre.

DEBATE IN COUNCIL-GENERAL

[Q]uoniam expediens esse videtur et admodum utile historias priorum temporum ad memoriam futurorum recitare et scripture fideliter commendare specialiter ad informationem regum et principum ac ceterorum in gubernacione rei publice positorum, de quo habentur exempla, tam in sacra scriptura quam historiis antiquorum temporum, legitur enim detronomio xvii° capitulo inter alia precepta divina ibi posita unum speciale preceptum de constitutione regis in populo Dei et de modo qualiter rex constitutus se debet habere, ubi sic dicitur ' Postquam autem sedevit rex in solio regni sui, describet sibi deutronomium legis hujus in volumine accipiens exemplar a sacerdotibus Levitice tribus et habebit secum legetque illud omnibus diebus vite sue, ut discat timere dominum deum suum et custodire verba et scrimonias ejus que in lege scripta sunt etc.' Idem potest dici et esse ratio de aliis scripturis et historiis que possunt hominem inducere ad excercitium virtutum etc. Habetur etiam Hester quarto de rege Assuero, ubi dicitur 'Noctemque illam duxit rex insompnem,' scilicet Assuerus, ' jussitque sibi afferri historias et annales priorum temporum etc.' Legitur preterea quod beatus Ierominus, vir doctissimus, transtulit quemdam librum de annalibus Hebreorum de Hebreo in Latinum ad utilitatem et informationem Christianorum. Legitur preterea in gestis Francorum quod Karolus magnus, rex Francie potentissimus et imperator, faciebat continue coram se in prandio legi librum *De Civitate Dei*, quem Sanctus Augustinus, doctor egregius, compilavit, in quo libro multa gesta antiquorum ab origine mundi continentur, et istud fecit ad aliorum audientium eruditionem. Ego similiter audivi ex relatione antiquorum fidedignorum referentium quod dominus Robertus de Bruys, rex noster Scotie, cujus anime propitietur Deus, consuevit continue vel legere vel facere legi coram se historias antiquorum regum et principum

quo modo se gubernabant temporibus suis, tam tempore guerre quam pacis, ex quibus in multis capiebat informationem suc gubernationis etc. Ego igitur in talibus edoctus exemplis hic recitare intendo aliqua que contigerunt tempore regis nostri David Broys ad memoriam et informationem successorum ipsius et cautelam [34v] futurorum. Ipse enim David de Broys a pueritia sua fuit nutritus in Francia cum rege Francie, confederato suo, bene et honorifice et, postquam adolevit, conversus est ad regnum suum, prout in aliis cronicis inde compositis continetur; qui quidem rex David de Broys in juventute sua post adventum suum de Francia ad regnum suum Scotie congregavit exercitum magnum et duxit in Anglia usque ad villam de Durham, ubi, victus per Anglicos et captus, ductus est Londoniis et ibi detentus fuit in carceribus regis Edwardi de Wyndissoire per multos annos et valde male et inhumaniter tractatus per Anglicos ac modicam curialitatem vel nullam habens a suis, quo tempore habiti fuerunt inter magnates et consilium regni Scotie et regem Anglie et suum consilium diversi tractatus super deliberatione domini nostri regis David, inter quos tractatus erat unus articulus principalis, qui apertus fuit ex parte regis Anglie et expositus fuit per consilium suum nobili domino, domino Willelmo de Dowglas de Liddisdaile, qui quidem articulus talis erat quod dominus noster rex David daret regi Anglie pro redemptione sua quadraginta milia librarum sub tali conditione quod rex David cum consensu comitatum regni sui Scotie faceret quod unus filiorum regis Anglie Edwardi predicti sibi succederet in regno Scotie, si ipsum sine liberis de corpore suo discedere contingeret, qui quidem articulus expositus fuit per dictum dominum Willelmum in generali consilio Scotie apud Sconam tento per dominum Robertum senescallum Scotie, tunc custodem regni rege absente, super quo articulo aliqui de consilio determinarent esse consensiendum petitis per regem Anglie, ad hoc inducentes rationes multas pro sua parte aliis de consilio contrarium asserentibus quod nullo modo erat expediens nec debebatur consentire petitis, rationes etiam pro sua parte inducentes, prout in quodam libello antiquo manu venerabilis viri

Magistri Willelmi de Spineto, magistri in artibus et doctoris in jure canonico solempnissimi, scriptum reperi, qui quidem magister Willelmus dicto consilio interfuit cum reverendo in Christo patre domino Willelmo de Landalis Sancti-andree episcopo suus clericus commensalis et postea tempore meo consecratus fuit episcopus Moraviensis octogenarius et ultra, qui ista et alia diversa que contigerunt tempore juventutis sue [35r] mihi sepe referre consuevit in collacione familiari, dum erat decanus Abberdonensis et socius meus commensalis, in quo libello ponuntur primo rationes facientes pro rege Anglie, cujus parti, ut asseritur a multis, rex noster David multum favebat et deinde ponuntur alie rationes contra regem Anglie hoc modo etc.

Propositio multum damnosa et periculosa regno Scotie et omnino proditiosa, enarvans, et destruens totam libertatem regni et annullans, et non solum libertatem sed omnes magnates et populum processu temporis.

Cum casus inopinabiles emergant, quos antiquitas non agnovit, maturioris deliberationis discussione opus est, presertim cum ab hiis proponantur qui secum contrahentes in precipitium conantur inargute cum ea offerant, que tantum cum audiuntur oblata et considerata vere acutius vilescant, et intus gustata [*illegible*] amarescant et cum humane nature sagax conditio per intellectum assentire conclusioni vere naturaliter inclinetur per modum questionis proponitur.

In oblatis per Anglicos expediat consentire et probatur quod sit persuasione et examine, videlicet: primo ex parte nostra quia cum populus semper uni principi habeat parere necesse, istud refert de mutatione persone principatus, et, dummodo laudabiliter suum officium exequatur, frustra requiretur sic notio nationis, juxta illud apostoli Non enim est distinctio Jude et Greci, et cotidie dominia et regna de gente in gentem et de regno ad populum alterum multimodis transferantur. Secundo quia cum regnum debeat manere integrum, non divisum nec mutilatum in suis juribus, libertatibus et consuetudinibus per Scotos officiis et ministeriis omnibus proficiendos gubernando regnum, semper plena

integritate letabitur nec poterit dici sine rege proprio, cui tantus princeps sicut rex Anglie imperabit. Tertio, huic est plena libertas et nulla servitus cum juxta legistarum sententiam res sua nemini servit nec ex ista regnorum unione tollitur spes promotionis secularibus oriundis de patria, cum ipsi et non alii sint ad singula officia regenda assumendi. Quarto, quia ex ista unione [35v] videtur in nullo minui honor regni aut noster, cum ipse rex sicut in regem Anglie ita in regem Scotie debeat in Scotia per deputatos ab antiquo coronari et rex Scotie et Anglie nominari, parliamenta et consilia tenere in Scotia et justitiam ministrare. Quinto, quia ita sumus imbecilles in potentia et viribus quod eis resistere nequamus in bello, nec inter nos hiis diebus est nobilis aliquis de sanguine regio vel magnus dominus qui sit expertus aut aptus ducere populum, nec est spes veresimilis de aliquo propinquo. Sexto, quia ita nostri nobiles sunt obstupefacti et pene exanimes facti ex diversis bellis, in quibus contra Anglicos jam plures corruerunt, et adversarii adeo animati et nostrantes sunt nulli vel pauci juvenes et inexperti, alii sagaces et ad bellum doctissimi quod ipsis in potentia nequimus resistere aut in bello. Item septimo, quia ex eo non minus a talibus bellis est cavendum, quia, si aliqui ex nostris caperentur pugnando in terra vel in mari, non possunt sperare redimi, cum simus cum omnibus bonis nostris pro redemptione regis generaliter obligati, nec aliquos obsides pro captivis admittere, eo quod de obsidibus nostris ultimo eis pro rege datis nos indebite habuimus, nec juramentis aliter fidei est credendum quia talia hactenus servavimus negligenter. Octavo, quia ipsi Anglici videntur justam causam fovere guerram movendo pro redemptione regis, eo quod defecimus in promissis solutionis terminis et multis aliis non ex necessitate sed voluntate. Nono, quia dominus noster rex videtur, vel saltem presumitur, velle petitis consentire, cujus opinioni multi innitentur, et ipse loca fortia omnia habet, et sic non est locus tutus pro volentibus resistere, si qui essent. Decimo, quia confederati nostri, ut Gallici, per compositionem cum adversariis sunt de nobis ammoti, ita quod oppressis non possunt succurrere nec exules receptare,

affines nostri, ut quondam Norvici, nobis erunt infesti, eo quod inita cum eis fidem non servamus. Item ad idem ex parte petentium quod ipsi nos exsuperant in multitudine bellatorum, usu et experientia bellandi, in armaturis et in audacia sumpta, et fortuna semper est eis solita arridere, ita quod fugere sint obliti et in castris nostris et vallis muratis quos (*sic*) habent nos possunt expugnare et ad ipsos reverti secure et nobis invitis terram occupare. Et imo veresimiliter videretur caute factum, si de necessitate faceremus virtutem et illud quod non possumus eis denegare et quod, nobis invitis, poterunt habere, nullis conditionibus placidis vel gratis nobis datis, sub istis bonis conditionibus jam concessis et pluribus aliis petendis et optinendis dare transferre et concedere [36r] voluntarie, quasi sumus potentes eis resistere, et sic grates et gratias ac amicitias bonas reportare, id est, bonos et tollerabiles ipsos postea invenire ; secundo quia tollerabilius et gratius est uni domino et regi servire quam quemlibet etiam vilissimum te (*sic*) potentiorem tyrannum et predonem sentire, secundum quod fuit tempore captivitatis principis nostri, et ita, eo cessante, presumitur in futurum, presertim cum rex Anglie sit satis potens latrunculos compremere et hostes alios repellere.

Item ex parte finis idem probatur evidenter, scilicet quod populus debeat assentire oblatis, quia sic erit plena concordia, quia cum ipsi habeant regnum, rem scilicet quam petebant pinguius(?) quam unquam petierant nosque juri nostro renuntiemus libere cum populos voluntarie nulla coactione precedente nec metu aut dolo et sic efficaciter inconvertabiliter et irrevocabiliter jus nostrum transferatur, non est nec erit locus ulterius discordie, cum non sit de quo questio moneatur, et sic erimus in pacis pulcritudine et justitia habitabit in terra nostra et quod suum est cuique tribuetur.

Item multum gauderemus si per maritagium primogeniti Anglie cum filia nostra et herede c contra nos et ipsi unus populus fueramus, et, cum idem finis ex oblatis resultet, sequitur quod nunc sicut et tunc consentire et applaudere debeamus. Sed forsan non est eadem nec equa

nunc sicut tunc ratio. Item ex ista pace multa alia commoda subsequentur, quia terre vaste et inculte per advenas inhabitabuntur, ville vacue inhabitabuntur et vaste reedificabuntur, et terre ad antiquam (*sic*) statum et taxationem ascendent et per communciationes advene et mercatoris regnicoli ditabuntur et mundus erit quasi *utupeus* et multe utilitates alie accrescent que prudens animus poterit providere juxta illud nomen certe pacis. Dulce est et ipsa res salutaris nec est aliud quam tranquilla libertas Tullii et juxta vaticinium Ysaye habitabit lupus cum agno et Anglicus cum Scoto, et pardus cum edo accubabit; vitulus, leo et ovis simul morabuntur [36^{v}] et puer parvulus minabit eos.

Fidelis opinio.

[Primo] propositum videtur scilicet quod populus non debeat consentire oblatis, ymmo non est licitum hoc nobis facere, quia, cum regnum Scotie sit immediate subjectum sancte Romane ecclesie, tam in personis ecclesiasticis quam secularibus, prout prius in summa domini Bonifacii pape octavi super jure libertatis regni Scotie promulgata et regi Anglie Edwardo directa, in qua dicit ' Sane ad celsitudinem tuam potuit pervenisse et in libro tue memorie nequaquam ambigimus contineri qualiter ab antiquis temporibus regnum Scotie pleno jure pertinuit et adhuc pertinere dinoscitur ad ecclesiam supradictam,' et in fine omnes lites et causas de jure regni ipsius movendas ad suam discisionem reducit et reservat, decernens irritum et inane etc. Submittere vel unire regnum regno vel jura successionis transferre in alium non possumus superiore domino ignorante, quia ipse omnia revocaret forsan. Etiam advertant caute domini nostri prelati supremi, scilicet episcopi et alii, ne fiant eorum ecclesie suffraganie archiepiscopi Anglie per istam unionem, sicut contigit ecclesie Sancti David in Vallia, que quondam fuit metropolitana sex ecclesias suffraganeas sub se habens, et tamen, postquam Vallia Anglie est unita, ipsa metropolis et omnes alie Cantuariensi archiepiscopo sunt suffraganee et subjecte, et in tanta vilipensa habentur prelati Vallie in Anglia quod patent contemptui et opprobrio toti populo, quia sic fuere cum episcopis Vallie Londonii ego vidi.

Secundo quod nuncquam est illud inchoandum a fideli populo vel promittendum quod non presumitur veresimiliter duraturum. Sed ita est de ista concordia quod etiam hoc probatur primo ex parte promittentium, quia cum ipsi soleant in promissis bonam fidem non agnoscere, ut prius in concordia et confederatione tempore affinitatis nostre cum eis inite et in pecunia non modica tunc eis soluta pro pace perpetua, quam statim exquisitis occasionibus fregerunt, unde non mirandum si de malo jam etiam presumamus, juxta illud, qui semel est captus fallaci piscis ab hamo omnibus era cibis unca subeesse putat.

Item quia ipsi Vallicos per totum et Ybernicos quibus possunt [37r] ita inhumaniter et serviliter tractant quod jam Vallicorum nomen et nobilitas in toto evanuerit, cum non sit aliquis de gente illa vel populo secularis dominus vel prelatus, et idem de Ybernicis prout possunt subtiliter suo more faciant presumiter quod nos inhumanius et crudelius tractarent, quos sensirint hactenus gravius adversantes et de quibus vix securos se fore putabunt, quamdiu unus de nobis supererit ex inimicitia ab olim radicata, et sic nos pro modulo nostro capitibus Scoticis et stolidis initentes repulsam vel vilipensam ineditam reputabimus, maximam et vindictam volimus, etiam si mori oporteat, cum puerum cujus ad fletum dependent labia ad plorandum facile sit monere. Et ideo, dum licet, videtur cautius abstinere, cum melius [sit] viam domini non agnoscere quam post agnitam retroire.

Item cum banniti terras suas non rehabeant, semper erit remanens seminarium discordie inter ipsos et nostrantes qui ipsas terras habebunt, et, cum banniti sint veresimiliter specialiores futuri apud principem, sequitur quod vel subtili ingenio vel premeditata malitia ipsi occupantes spoliabuntur terris ipsis ex causa satis levi, presertim cum rex Anglie promittat eis bannitis remunerationem pro ipsis terris et, ut referunt experti, sequentes curiam Anglie tales promotiones longas et difficiles tractus habent, ymmo communiter respondet rex Anglie talia petentibus quod prius habet filiis propriis providere, quia ordinata caritas incipit a seipso, et cum ipsis ad votum per suas terras in

Scotia poterit satisficri non est herreticum sapere regem Anglie et suum consilium occasiones querere faciendo, tamen de non causa, ut nostrantes morti etiam turpi condempnentur, ut alii rehabeant quod est suum.

Item quia cum ipse promittat servare et non revocare donationes regis Roberti et David et custumam lane ad sex solidos et octo denarios pro suo perpetuo reducere, sequitur quod vivet ex rapina cum nichil de suo habeat et populum predabit vel interpretabit donationes illorum regum non debere revocari que facte sint sine dampno corone et juste fieri poterunt sine perjurio donantis. Ceteras vero revocabit, ymmo revocare necesse est tales donationes sub pena perjurii ut in casu intellecto [37v] extra de jurejuratis. Et isto modo sentio ego, quicquid dicant alii vel pretendant.

Item alieni tollent locum nostrum et gentem cum maritagio nobilium mulierum Anglicis concedentur et warde et maritagia puerorum at adolescentium nobilium de Scotia. Sequitur quod infra paucos annos dominia multa et quasi omnia Scotie venient et transferentur per maritagia et aliter in Anglicos, dato adhuc quod rex Anglie servet inviolabiliter omnia promissa, et sic majorum nostrorum nomina et cognomina deperibunt.

Item illud regnum et regnicoli Scoti adeo attenuabuntur et ad tantam exanimationem devenient quod ipsorum miseria futura non poterit brevi sermone exprimi, eo quod redditus universos, custumas, exitus itinerum justiciarie et camerarie, contributiones et emolumenta alia ad regem spectantia deferentur in Angliam et redditus terrarum que ad dominia Anglicorum per wardas maritagia vel alias devenient, eo quod preeligent morari in sue nativitatis terra et prope dominum regem quam in ista et sic divitie auferentur in terram alienam et pauci qui remanebunt de nativis erunt coloni sub servitute perpetua et erumpna.

Item caveant sibi nobiles nostri et eo cautius quo domino nostro regi David attinent propinquius, quia, non obstante promissis quibuscunque, ad eorum exterminium rex Anglie ultra citra conabitur, nec unquam se reputabit securus quamdiu supererit unus de semine regio vivens, eo quod semper suspicabitur tales questionem super jure regni

moturos, licet ipsi nuncquam meditentur talia, exemplo Herodis qui, credens Christum de semine et stirpe antiquorum regum inde sibi regnum Judee et Jerusalem erepturum, finxit se prius adorare velle, cum ut interficeret et postea adeo ipsum persecutus est ut coetaveos necaret, putans quod ex quo ipsum specialiter invenire non poterat sub generali saltem clade faceret deperire. Aliud exemplum habeamus Judicum ix c., et familiarius exemplum est magis ad propositum in Vallia et Hybernia ubi Anglici principantur.

Item oblatis consentire non decet. Cum brevis vita nobis sit data a natura et memoria bene acte vite sempiterna sit, istudque regnum semper etiam in tempore regis Arthuri regem proprio nomine augurelem habuerit et semper distinctum fuerit, nos pro brevi vita nostra et in nostre dampnationem memorie ipsius statum antiquum, pro quo tuendo majores nostri aliquando gloriosum triumphum et aliqui, ut erat fides ipsorum et opinio et est mea, victoriosum marthirium de hostibus reportaverunt, intervertere nos non decet, quia, si isto modo, nulla coactione [38r] precedente, consentiat populus, irrevocabilis est consensus et nuncquam poterit perrutere, cum nec metus, nisi vanus, dolus malus aut coactio intercedat et, si nitatur postea resilire, erit in dominum insurgere et tanquam proditores in dominum proprium punientur et idcirco, dum res est integra, bonum est a talibus abstinere.

Item quia consentiendo petitis cessaret unctio nostra et per consequens insignia celibriora regalia, quia quilibet rex etiam pedaneus ut in Hybernia est coronatus, quia cum unctio regis iterari non debeat et rex Anglie inungeretur in Anglia, sequitur quod apud nos postea inungi non potest.

Item quia dominus Willelmus de Douglas miles tales quondam habuit conditiones quod dominus rex noster pro xl milibus librorum redimeretur et castra nostra in termino prime solutionis nobis redderentur, dummodo concedetur a populo quod unus de junioribus filiis regis Anglie domino nostro regi, si sine liberis decederet, deberet succedere, non videtur quod, cum non simus debiliores nunc quam tunc

extitimus, pro defectu solutionis in terminis totius regni dominium et successionem debeamus a nobis et nostris successoribus abdicare.

Item quia multi nobiles nostri et majores de regno casualiter exheredarentur perpetuo, rege Anglie servante omnia, quia ipsi nunquam sufficerent suas terras relevare et sic semper in manu superioris domini remanerent, quod non solet hic fieri cum consueverimus habere regem proprium propitium et benignum.

Item redditio castrorum et remissio custume ad antiquam (*sic*) statum sunt unum dulce nichilum, quia vult quatuor castra reddere et sibi finaliter ut totum regnum habeat et, cum per nos magis meliorori possint quam per ipsum, ad hoc offert nobis ad tempus, ut ipse totum habeat regnum perpetuo et ut ipse ea meliorata recipiat et ut ipse interim exoneretur a sumptibus quos facit circa ipsa quae, stantibus conditionibus inter nos et ipsos, ad modicum commodum nobis cedent et, si resiliamus, non erunt qui ea pro nobis tueantur, contra dominum proprium insurgendo presertim cum a nobis sperare non poterint de succursu. Reducere autem custumam ad statum solitum tenebitur per juramentum, cum etiam domino nostro regi non sit concessa [38^{v}] ad tantam summam nisi ad tempus et ex causa sue redemptionis. Quod autem dominus noster rex et sui heredes terras suas habeant et alii domini in Anglia, bonum esset si nichil aliud latitaret sed quia regi Roberto viro tam sapienti strenuo et experto non placuit in hoc articulo.

Circa premissa notandum est quod marcatores Anglie rem venditam ad duplum veri pretii et pro quo eam vendere volunt solent appreciare ut, si institorem incautum inveniant, ipsum illaqueant sed, antequam rem venalem reportent, pro medio petiti pretii, si sit qui offerat, ipsam vendunt, et forsitan ita est in proposito, quia domini in hoc casu a marcatorum moribus non sunt penitus alieni, dummodo sit cautus institor qui offerat rationem.

Ex premissis concludendo quod non licet nec decet nec expedit petitis vel oblatis consentire probatur quod non licet per rationes immediate post oppositum, quia subsumus immediate domino pape ; nec decet quia insignia nostra

cessarent, puta unctio, et quia memoriam nostram dampneremus et quia majores nostri, viri sapientissimi, Anglicorum magis experti astutiam, nuncquam voluerunt talibus consentire ; nec etiam expedit propter multa inconvenientia et intollerabilia, inarrabilia, que post oppositum iam sunt dicta.

Ad rationes prime partis runspondetur quod, sicut nos sumus attenuati in viribus per mortilitates et guerras, ita sunt ipsi, quia, licet in Francia eis prospere successerit sepe in victoriis, hoc tamen non contigit sine dispendio sue gentis, et semper ipsi fuerunt plures quam nos, et tamen aliquando contendabamus cum eis de pari et cos vicimus diversis vicibus successive, nec in multitudine bellantium consistit semper victoria, et ipsi hodie multum sunt dispersi in Britannia, in Ybernia et versus Terram Sanctam, et qui sunt non habent cor ardens ad invadendum nos, cum sint emolimenta modica habituri, si, quod absit, prevalcant et non sine tediosis laboribus et suarum personarum periculis, sicut alias sunt experti, et sciunt quia nos habemus aptos ad bellandum, licet aliquos inexpertos, et, juxta vulgare proverbum, catuli mordent acribius et minus lupos verentur quam canes alii seniores.

Ducem etiam habemus et principem dominum nostrum regem, pro quo et ejus statu populus hactenus multa sustinuit, qui dominus noster rex ita difficilia et ardua facit proponere, ut probet an sit spiritus [39r] fortitudinis vel vite scintilla illuccat in aliquo, in quo spiritus et animus domini nostri regis possit acquiescere, cum videat eum velle stare pro libertate populi et confovenda justitia, et ut possit infallibiliter percipere quod spiritus vite sit in rotis, id est, in suis nobilibus et aliis, nec est aliter sentiendum de domino nostro, quia, cum ipse tot humanitatis beneficia a populo isto reciperit, quod se et sua pro ipso exposuerit et adhuc exponere sit paratus, quod ipse tot beneficiorum oblitus populum velit inducere ut subsit et serviat suo hosti, quia inter ista ambigua nodosa et difficilia videretur eligibilius censum vel recognitionem in signum subjectionis solvere, quod solum solent petere inimici, et regem proprium habere quam totum regnum subdere et antiquos hostes constituere

voluntarie dominos. Cum in uno spes future libertatis semper vigeat, in alio spes recuperationis omnimoda sit sublata. Plures etiam nobiles dei gratia habemus aptos in duces assumi, quos nominare omitto, ne forsan eque digni et majoris meriti invideant et licet nullum nominare. Suscitabit dominus spem fortitudinis in puero juniori et mille modis dominus sue plebi providebit, nec fovebunt Anglici more insolito justam causam, quia non est justum pro quodam pecuniario debito petere totum regnum, de quo debito modo quo possumus meliori volimus satisfacere, et hoc bene possumus, dummodo rex donationes inceptas factas in prejudicium corone regis revocet et de suo habeat unde vivat et solvat cum aliis notabiliter suam partem, et colat justitiam ; et banniti nostri ad rehabendum terras suas conditiones bonas in prorogatione terminorum solutionis et in remissione penarum pro suis juribus procurabunt et contribuent libenter cum aliis in redemptionem ; de quibus omnibus bonum est quod temptentur.

Ad rationem ubi dicitur quod bonum est facere de necessitate virtutem et eis concedere voluntarie quod possunt nobis invitis habere respondetur quod melius est quod talia inconvenientia habeant nobis invitis, quia tunc licitum est semper et qualibet hora reluctari, sicut pluries nostris fiebat temporibus, quam quod semel de consensu populi haberent quia tunc nuncque posset populus resilire ; et ad hoc quod fortuna eis arridet, dicitur quod, quando magis applaudit, tunc tendit citius ad ruinam et que tota nobis jam enotuit eis se velat et insidias secas parat juxta illud : impetus evertit quicquid [39^{v}] fortuna ministrat prospera nil stabile cui dedit illa omnibus casibus in letis quam sit propinqua ruina et lapsus facilis nemo videre potest. Et quando dicitur quod melius est uni subesse quam quemlibet sentire tyrannum, respondetur quod illi faciliter in fide et fidelitate terre et populi perseverantes revertuntur ad suum dominum et per eum, stabilita terra in pace, cito castigantur, et modicum deberet cuilibet videri si quidem pugnent pro libertate vivant de communi et talis tyrannides cito finitur ; sed crudelitas Anglorum si semel approbati fuerint de pejori in pessimum perseverabit

perpetuo acrius semper solito invalescens, et ideo videtur eligibilius pati ad tempus aspera quam sine redemptionis spe aliqua subici perpetuo servituti. Ad rationem ex parte finis quia tunc plena erit concordia quia non erit de quo litigetur etc., respondetur quod verum est si renunciamus juri nostro non habebimus super juri illo materiam ulterius murmurandi ex quo renunciavimus non coacti, sed an ipsi nobis ministrabunt materiam insurgendi ego non dubito sed dubitet ipse si quis careat ratione sed, si quis velit sagaciter et acute futura perspicere, poterit evidenter et inevitabiliter colligere regem Anglie et ipsius consilium ista persuadens et petens ad deletionem, evulsionem et exterminium totale populi istius coronari, quia cum sit naturale cuilibet ut suorum maxime filiorum promotionem desideret, seniorique filio regis per successionem hereditariam sufficientem et ultra sit provisum regnum quod Scotie videretur sufficiens promotio pro aliquo de junioribus quod jam oblatum contra paternam pietatem erga filium rex renuit et recusat. Non videtur alia subesse ratio nisi quod in detestationem et odium istius populi, et ut sit non solum acephalus sed ut tollatur et evanescat penitus, et quod de ipso de cetero non habeatur memoria, istud fiat. Cum tamen magnum sibi videri debeat quod, exheredatis quodam modo nostris heredibus, in suum filium successionem regiam transferamus et debet sibi ad magnum gaudium et gloriam crescere quod duos filios reges posset dimittere et maxime sic vicinos et juniorem provehi [40r] excellentiam sine prejudicio vel diminutione aliqua senioris sed ipse tante gratitudinis ingratus non odium filii sed in detestationem gentis nostre non volt super nos regem regnare qui nos tuere debeat sed ut ipse nos devoret deleat penitus et evellat annullet et nullos faciat et ut finaliter ad nichilum redigamur. Et hec omnia que monent dissentire in regem Anglie vetant in principem Anglie et Vallie consentire, cum eadem sit ratio de utroque, quia, cum ipse sit futurus rex, consentire in ipsum est in regem consentire Anglie. Et si dicas non, quia filius ejus habebit nichil, est quia talis pater talis filius sunt eadem persona, et, postquam res per directum dominium est mea, possum de ea disponere prout

placet, et certe, si consentiamus in principem Vallie, equa erit nostra conditio cum Vallicis, quorum quam debilis sit conditio fide cernimus oculata, quia sic lesi sunt ut corruant, sic persecuti quod ulterius non resurgent, et est filicius de aliis et aliorum ruinis exemplum sumere quam, quod absit, simus toti mundo in fabulam proprie miserie et exemplum. Et quia magni ingenii est cogitatione futura percipere et ante constituere quid faciendum sit cum evenerint et ignave gentis et desperate mentisque dejecte absurditates predictas et inconvenientias innumeras inde secuturas concedere petulantisque tamen sit et precipitis petita nimium mordaciter interimere et sic ad guerram adversarios pronotare. Idcirco per litteras vel nuntios informentur :

Primo quod populus iste inconstantie et variationis notam effugiens cum unum et certum de filiis Anglie scilicet dominum Johannem de Gandavo quodam modo eligerit et assumpserit in regem Anglie vel principem nuncquam volumus consentiendo variare, et quod si tempora preterita vel etiam presentia bene considarent certum stantionando debite deberet eis videri magnum ymmo, ut ita dicam, maximissimum quod unus de eorum filiis ex tanta causa nobis offerimus in regem succedere quod cum ipsi refutent tum sciamus hoc non esse in odium filii. Sequitur quod in annullationem nostram redundare cogitent ut etiam antedictum est. Et si ipse filius domino nostro regi succederet sequiretur pacis eternitas, que ratio in aliis filiis Anglie cessat, quia, cum ipse habeat multas terras in Anglia, pro quibus semper tenebitur homagium et fidelitatem facere regi Anglie [40^{v}], veresimiliter et indubie potest colligi quod nuncquam aliquid faceret aut temptaret, unde posset terras suas perdere ; que ratio cessat in aliis, cum non habeant quid perdant, et rex Anglie semper illo modo ipsum punire poterit, quod nequivit fieri in filio minori. Et nuncii informantes Anglicos loquantur audacter et palam non meticulose et pavide, quum juxta Tullium sapienti nullum incommodum pro republica est vitandum. Et cum pro ea majores nostri mortui sunt pugnantes in bello nos degeneramus a patribus

qui nec verbum asperum in ipsius subsidium proponere volimus aut audire. Secunda ratio quae monere nos debet ad petendum istum magis quam alium filium est quia, cum uxor sua sit de domo Scotie et familia puta neptis comitis Buchanie, filius suus nobis futurus rex et dominus pro parte media foret Scotus, nec videretur penitus translata successio, cum sic in nostris quodam modo remaneret. Tertia ratio est quia, cum ipse sit potens in Anglia, eo plures habere poterit in consilio Anglie promotores et tanto magis pater rex Anglie verebitur suam promotionem impedire, que etiam ratio cessat in aliis filiis et, si pater palam et aperte impediat promotionem filii, presumi poterit de scismate inter ipsos, et, si filius nolente patre consentiat, nobis patris benevolentiam et aliorum assensum procurabit, et, si de vitanda patris displicentia, filius discensiat, populo isti de sua benevolentia grates reddit et de duro hoste fiet mitior inimicus.

Vel modo isto satisfiat voluntati regis Anglie ut in eum transferatur successio sub tali conditione ut ipse totum jus suum et nostrum in illum filium transferat, de quo supra est dictum, ita libere et integre sicut unquam fuit liberuis, nullis reliquiis aut vestigiis superioritatis aut directi domini in eo remanentibus, id est, quod de eo non teneatur in capite, signo quocunque aut censu aliquo teneatur.

ABSTRACT

History is valuable for rulers as shown by the examples of Ahasuerus, Charlemagne and Robert Bruce. The writer sets out to recite what happened in the time of David II, particularly in the Council-General held at Scone by the Steward to discuss the terms for the King's release on condition of a ransom of £40,000 with the succession going, if he died childless, to a son of Edward III, as offered through William Douglas of Liddesdale. He has been told the arguments put forward on either side by William Spynie, afterwards Bishop of Moray, who was present with Bishop William Landallis.

The arguments in favour of acceptance were : (i) It is a change of person and the idea of the nation is not in question ; (ii) The kingdom would remain entire and be administered by Scots ; (iii) Scots, clerical and lay, would not lose hope of promotion ; (iv) The king would be crowned and hold parliaments etc. in Scotland ; (v) The Scots are too weak to resist and have no noble suitable to lead the people ; (vi) The nobles are exhausted by war or young and inexpert, the English skilled in battle ; (vii) There is no hope of ransoming any captives in return for hostages ; (viii) The English have a just cause for war, because we failed to pay the King's ransom at the promised terms ; (ix) Our King is presumed to consent and he has all the strong places ; (x) The French have compounded with the enemy and our neighbours will be hostile because we did not keep faith. Also, they surpass us in forces, fortune smiles on them and they can occupy our lands against our will. It would seem cautious to make a virtue of necessity and to grant freely what we cannot refuse, and so bring friendship. It is more tolerable to serve one lord than to suffer a tyrant, as it was in the time of our Prince's captivity. There will be full concord because they will have the kingdom which they sought and so there will be no room for further discord. Also, we should be rejoicing if through the marriage of the first-born of England with our heiress we had been one

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people and the same will result from what is offered. From that peace many other advantages will follow. Waste lands will be inhabited, empty townships re-built, lands come up to their old condition and assessment for taxes and many other benefits increase. It is the tranquil liberty of Cicero and, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, the Englishman with the Scot, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid ; the calf, the lion and the sheep shall dwell together ; and a little child shall lead them.

True opinion. First, it is not lawful, because the kingdom of Scotland is immediately subject to the Roman church as formerly in the summa *of Boniface VIII directed to King Edward of England, and rights of succession cannot be transferred without the knowledge of the superior. Our prelates should take care lest they become the suffragans of the Archbishop of England, as happened to the church of St. David in Wales. Secondly, nothing should be begun or promised which is not presumed probably to last, but those who are promising are not accustomed to recognise good faith. Also, as they inhumanly treat the Welsh and Irish, they will treat us more inhumanly and will not think themselves secure so long as one of us survives. Also, when the banished do not repossess their lands, there will always remain a seed-bed of discord, and, since they will be favourites with the prince, those in occupation will spoil the lands, especially when the King of England promises compensation to the banished ; and it is said those following the English court have long and difficult discussions ; the King of England commonly answers petitioners that he has first to provide for his own sons and since they can be satisfied at will by lands in Scotland, the King of England and his Council will seek occasions, though without cause, for our people to be condemned to shameful death, that others may repossess what is theirs. Also, because he promises not to revoke donations of King Robert and David and to reduce the custom on wool to six-and-eightpence, it follows that he will live from plunder, since he has nothing of his own, and he will despoil the people and will interpret that the donations of those kings which were made without loss to the crown ought not to be revoked, but will revoke the rest ; rather, they must be revoked*

on pain of perjury. Also, strangers will take away our place and nation when wardships and marriages of noble youths of Scotland are granted to Englishmen, even if the King of England keeps his promises, and so the names of our ancestors will perish utterly. Also, the kingdom and subjects of Scotland will be so weakened that their future misery cannot be briefly expressed, because they will take away to England all revenues, customs, etc. belonging to the king and the revenues from lands which come to possession of the English by wardships and otherwise, because they will prefer to stay in the land of their birth and near the king, and so riches will be taken away to a strange land, and the few of the natives who remain will be bondmen in perpetual serfdom. Also, let our nobles beware, especially those nearest King David, because, whatever his promises, the king of England will try every means for their extermination nor ever think himself secure so long as one of the royal stock survives, because he will always suspect that such will move a question on the right of the kingdom, after the example of Herod. We have another example in Judges c. ix. and more to the purpose in Wales and Ireland. Also, since brief life is given to us and the memory of a well-spent life is eternal and that kingdom even in the time of King Arthur had its augur-king and was always distinct, we ought not for our brief life and to damnation of our memory to change the ancient state, for protecting which our ancestors formerly won glorious triumph and some victorious martyrdom from the enemy, because, if the people in that way consents under no compulsion, consent is irrevocable and to resile afterwards will be to rise against one's lord and they will be punished as traitors. Also, our anointing would cease and the royal insignia, because, since the king would be anointed in England, he cannot be anointed afterwards. Also, William Douglas formerly had the conditions that our King should be ransomed for £40,000 and our castles be restored at the term of the first payment, provided that the people granted that one of the younger sons of the King of England should succeed our king if he died without children. Since we are not weaker now, we ought not for default of payment at the terms to resign the lordship and succession. Also, many magnates would be

disinherited for ever, because they would never suffice to relieve their lands. Also, the restoration of castles and remission of custom to the old state are a sweet nothing, because he is willing to restore four castles and finally have the whole kingdom, and, since they can be improved better by us than by him, he offers them to us for the time so as to get them back improved and be meanwhile discharged from the expense. The custom is bound to be reduced to the wonted state because even to our king it was granted at so great a sum only for his ransom. As to our lord and his heirs and other lords having their lands in England it were good if nothing else should lie hid but that that article did not please King Robert. English merchants sell at double the true price and are wont to raise it to entrap an incautious buyer but, before taking goods back, sell them for half the price asked, and perhaps it is thus in what is proposed.

Thus, it is proved that to consent is not lawful nor seemly nor expedient.

To the reasons of the first party it is answered that as we are reduced in strength so are they. Their victories in France have cost men, they are dispersed in Brittany, Ireland and the Holy Land and have not the same ardour to invade us for small gain with tedious labour and danger. We have a prince for whom the people has borne much, who has difficult proposals made in order to prove whether a spirit of bravery shines in anyone in whom his soul can rest satisfied ; nor is it to be felt otherwise of our lord, since he received so much kindness from that people that it has exposed and is still prepared to expose itself and its possessions for him, that he, forgetful of so many benefits, wishes to bring it under its enemy. We have many nobles suitable to be leaders. The Lord will arouse hope of bravery in a young boy and will provide for his people. Nor will the English in unaccustomed manner favour a just cause, because it is not just to seek a whole kingdom for a money debt, which we wish to satisfy as best we can, provided that the King revoke gifts made to the prejudice of the crown and has whence he can pay his share and foster justice, and our banished men will procure good conditions for repossessing their lands and will contribute with others for the ransom.

As to giving voluntarily what they can have against our will, it is better that they have such inconvenience, because then it is always lawful to resist, as often in our times, and as to fortune smiling upon them, when it applauds the more, it inclines the quicker to ruin. When it is said that it is better to be under one man than to endure a tyrant, lands and peoples by perseverance return to their lord and are quickly corrected when the land is established in peace, and such tyranny is quickly ended, but the cruelty of the English, if once approved, will go from bad to worse. Therefore, it seems more desirable to suffer hardship for a time than be subjected to perpetual servitude without hope of redemption.

As to the reason that there will be full concord because there will be no cause for dispute, it is true that, if we renounce our right, we shall not have matter for complaint over that, because we have renounced without compulsion, but they will afford matter for rising, for the English King and his council will seek the total extermination of the people, for since it is natural for anyone to desire most the promotion of his sons and the King's eldest son has more than sufficient by inheritance, the kingdom of Scotland would seem sufficient promotion for one of the younger. No other reason seems to underlie the king's refusal except hatred of the people and that it may not only be headless but disappear entirely. Since it ought to seem a great thing that we transfer the succession to his son and he can leave two sons as neighbouring kings, that he does not wish him to reign over us is not from hatred of his son but from detestation of our race. All this warns against consenting to the prince of England and Wales. What is owned by direct lordship can be disposed of at pleasure and, if we agree to the Prince of Wales, our condition will be equal to the Welsh. It is a mark of great ability to think out in advance what should be done and of a cowardly race to concede the foretold inconveniences and of a wanton and rash one to destroy too sharply what is sought and so move the adversary to war.

Therefore let them be informed by letters and envoys: first, that this people chooses John of Gaunt, never changing to the King of England or the Prince; and that if they consider past or even present times in stalling a certain part of the debt

it ought to seem a great thing that we offer one of their sons to succeed as king. If this son succeed our king, lasting peace would follow, which reason ceases in the other sons. Let the envoys speak boldly as, according to Cicero, no trouble is to be avoided for the sake of the state. Since our ancestors died for it in battle, we are degenerate if we are unwilling to speak or hear a rough word for its help. A second reason for seeking that son rather than another is because, since his wife is of the house of Scotland and family of the niece of the Earl of Buchan, his son, our future king, will be half a Scot. A third is that since he is powerful in England he can have supporters in the English Council and his father will fear to hinder his promotion. If his father does so, there will presumably be a breach between them, and if the son consents against his father's will, he will procure us the father's goodwill, and if to avoid his father's displeasure the son dissents, he gives thanks to the people for their kindness and of a hard foe is made a gentler enemy. Or in this way let the will of the King of England be satisfied, that the succession be transferred to him on condition that he transfer the whole right to the son named above, as freely as it ever was, with no trace of superiority or direct lordship remaining in him.

ACCOUNTS OF
SIR DUNCAN FORESTAR
OF SKIPINCH, COMPTROLLER
1495-1499

INTRODUCTION

THE accounts here published are contained in a small volume which was offered for sale to the Keeper of the Records of Scotland by a firm of London auctioneers in 1954. On examination its contents were found to be the accounts of the Comptroller and the firm were requested to point out to their client that the volume was in fact public record and should never have left official custody. The owner, Miss Bertha Scholefield (now Mrs. Julian C. Grumber), immediately agreed to restore it to its proper place in the Register House.

It is not clear at what time the volume passed out of public custody. In an early eighteenth-century inventory of the records as they then existed in the Laigh Parliament House it is described as 'Accounts of Duncan Fraser. Comptroller in anno 1498.' In a slightly earlier inventory the same misreading 'Fraser' occurs, but has been corrected to 'Forrester'. It cannot, of course, have been in the Register House in 1888 when Volume XI of the *Exchequer Rolls*, which covers the period, was published.

The 33 original folios are 'inlaid' in the centre of the pages of the volume, which is interleaved with tissue paper. Many of the folios have been repaired before being inlaid. Some of my colleagues in the Scottish Record Office have pointed out the close resemblance between the method of inlaying and the pencil foliation of these accounts and that of the Acts of the Lords of Council, whose repair dates from the first part of the considerable programme carried out under the direction of Thomas Thomson as Deputy Clerk-Register from 1807 onwards. The paper in which the folios are inlaid has the watermark, 'J. Whatman, 1806', and the first and last volumes of the Acts of the Lords of Council show the same name with the date 1805. It is true that no mention of the repair of the present volume appears in Thomson's printed reports, but an odd volume would not

necessarily be mentioned individually. In fact there is no mention of the other early example of a Comptroller's Account in volume form, that dated 1491-2, which has never been out of official custody. (The pages of that volume bear the same watermark with the date 1810.) It seems likely that the pages of the recently recovered volume were repaired in the Register House, but that the binding or re-binding took place when it was in private hands.

It is not the whole of the volume that is published in the following pages. The incomplete account which occupies ff. 17-25 has already been published (*Exchequer Rolls*, XI, pp. 242-249), as another copy in roll form exists among the Exchequer Rolls themselves.

The accounts appear to use an unusual Latin form ' compotoris ' (always in the genitive) for the designation of the Comptroller. The word always appears after at least a small gap in the text and a reading ' compotorum ' is not impossible. The word ' compotoris ', however, does occur quite clearly in another place. The accounts of James Reidheuch as Comptroller rendered in July, 1509, (*Exchequer Rolls*, XIII, p. 246) show the usual form ' compotorum rotulatoris ' in the body of the text, but the title on the back of the original roll of account uses the form ' compotoris '.

The accounts themselves follow the usual standard form. The less stereotyped entries tend to be found at the beginning or the end of the discharge side of the accounts. They include references to the visit of Perkin Warbeck (' the Duke of York ') to Scotland, James IV's military operations on the Borders and the presence of the Spanish ambassadors headed by Don Pedro de Ayala.

Where the text is sufficiently complete to allow a check, the arithmetic of the accounts seems to be good. It is marred only by a tendency to overlook halfpennies. Much-damaged portions of the text have been arranged in the printed version in such a way as to show the position of words or parts of words in the original line.

Sir Duncan Forestar is designed as ' of Torwod ' in the

period before the accounts now published. Skipinch is the modern Skipness on Kilbrannan Sound. (Dr. Nicolaisen of the School of Scottish Studies considers that the form ' Skipinch ' derives from a Gaelicized version of the original Norse place-name.) Forestar later appears as ' of Garden ', having been granted a crown charter of the lands of Garden-Sinclare on 15 Jan. 1495/6. (*R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, No. 2297.)

His first term as Comptroller is described in a precept for acquittance under the Privy Seal dated 27 May 1500 (*R.S.S.*, I, No. 531) as from 31 July 1492 to 10 Nov. 1498. Payments to him as Comptroller, however, already appear in an account rendered on 6 July 1492 (*Exchequer Rolls*, X, p. 317). His last account now published is rendered on 31 Jan. 1498/9, but the end of the period accounted for is not shown. His second term as Comptroller is represented in the *Exchequer Rolls* only by an account rendered on 2 Aug. 1509 (XIII, p. 249). The period accounted for is not shown, but he is designed as Comptroller in an entry in the Register of the Privy Seal dated 23 Sept. 1508 (*R.S.S.*, I, No. 1734). Even after the date of this last account he again appears as Comptroller in connection with the letting of crown lands on 7 Jan. and 6 Feb. 1509/10 (*Exchequer Rolls*, XIII, pp. 599 and 636).

Forestar also held the office of Great Purveyor to the Queen and accounted in that capacity on 4 Aug. 1508 (*Exchequer Rolls*, XIII, p. 125). He was several times provost of Stirling and accounts as such for the bailies on 19 Aug. 1488 (*Exchequer Rolls*, X, p. 709). In the burgh records he appears as provost on 17 Jan. and 23 Feb. 1479/80 and 20 Nov. 1481 (*Charters &c. relating to the Burgh of Stirling*, pp. 187, 205 and 207). An undesigned knight of the same name who appears as newly-appointed provost on 30 Sept. 1521 is presumably the same man. (*Extracts from Records of the Burgh of Stirling*, I, p. 12.)

P. Gouldesbrough.

Account rendered at Edinburgh on 18 (?) July, 1498, for the period from 1 December, 1495, to 1 December, 1496

[f. 1r] Nichil in hoc computo extra rotulos
Robertus Colvile manu propria
in manu (?)

Nichil oneratur in hoc compoto extra rotulos.

[f. 2r] Compotum D[uncani Forestar de Skipinch, militis] compotoris (?) redditum [apud Edinburgh decimo-octavo] die mensis Julii anno [Domini &c. nonagesimo] octavo de omnibus receptis suis et expensis a die primo mensis Decembris anno Domini &c. nonagesimi quinti usque in primum diem mensis predicti anni nonagesimi sexti inclusive, quod est annus integer.

Idem onerat se in primis de xlvij s. x d. de albis firmis et redditibus assise vicecomitis de Forfar receptis ab eodem in scaccario anno nonagesimo sexto. Et de xx lib. xj s. ix d. a Jacobo Logane, vicecomite deputato medie warde de Edinburgh, de castriwarda eiusdem. Et de xlj lib. iij s. vj d. ab eodem Jacobo de arreragiis dictarum castriuardarum in eodem compoto. Et de vj s. viij d. a senescallo de Kirkcudbrycht de albis firmis de Garrules. Et de vij s. ij d. a vicecomite de Kinros de suis albis firmis. Et de iij s. a vicecomite de Clakmannan. Et de v s. iiij d. a vicecomite de Lithqw. Et de xxxij s. a vicecomite de Elgin. Et de viij lib. ab eodem. Et de x lib. xvij s. iiij d. a vicecomite de Renfrew [de] suis redditibus dicti vicecomitatus. [f. 2v] [Et de viij lib. ij s.] iiij d. per duplicationem feodifirme [de Westirborth]wik. Et de xl s. iiij d. receptis [a] Stewart. Et de vj s. iij d. a vicecomite de Perth. Et de viij s. vij d. a vicecomite Peblis. Et de lvij lib. xvij s. viij d. receptis a vicecomite de Are de firmis de Trabeach et Terrynycane. Et de x s. a vicecomite de Ergile pro tribus clamidibus. Et de xxxv s. ix d. a vicecomite de Abirdene. Et de xvj lib. iv s. a senescallo de Menteth. Et

de x lib. xiij s. iv d. a vicecomite de Strivelin de feodifirma de My spectante compotanti. Et de iiij lib. a vicecomite de Fif. Et de xvj lib. de annuo redditu de Kinef a vicecomite de Kincardin. Et de xj s. vij d. ab eodem de alteris suis firmis. Summa huius oneris, ij^{c} iiij lib. v s. v d.

[f. 3^{r}] Item idem onerat [se de . . . . . receptis ab Andrea] Wod de firmis de [Fethirkerne in eodem] scaccario. Et de lx . . . . . j. s. receptis a camerario de Bute et Arane. Et de ij^{c} xiij lib. vj s. viiij d. a domino Kennedy de firmis terrarum de Carrik, Leswalt et Menybrig. Et de lxxx lib. receptis ab eodem de pendentibus dictarum terrarum necnon terrarum de Arane. Et de iij^{c} xxviij lib. xiij s. ij d. a camerario de Strivelinshir de dicto anno. Et de lxxxxix lib. de firmis de Methwen et grassumis eiusdem. Et de lxxxxv lib. xvij s. ij d. a camerario de Lithquwshir. Et de j^{c} lj lib. xvj s. xj d. a camerario comitatus Marchie. Et de iiij^{c} xvj lib. iij s. viij d. a Willelmo Drummond de firmis de Stratherne. Et de x lib. vj s. viij d. a Patricio Hume de Polvort de dictis firmis in pede compoti sui. Et de vij lib. xx d. a dicto Patricio de eodem pede. Et de xxx lib. vj s. viij d. a comite de Ergile de firmis de Rosneth. Et de ij^{c} lxxj lib. xiij s. iiij d. receptis a magistro Jacobo Lindissay, camerario Galwidie. Et de l lib. receptis ab Adam Mure de dictis firmis super Cree de suis arreragiis. Et de xl lib. per vendicionem octo celdrarum quatuor bollarum farrine Galwidie. Et de ij^{c} xlviij lib. xiij s. x d. a Thoma Wardroper de firmis de Kinclevin et aliarum terrarum sui camerariatus. Et de v^{c} lj lib. ix s. xj d. a camerario de Mentetht. [f. 3^{v}] [Et] de ij^{c} xxxij lib. a domino Sinclare [de firmis Orcadie et] Scheitland. Et de v^{c} lxj lib. xiij s. j [d. ob] receptis a magistro Willelmo Scot, camerario de Fiff, de firmis et grassumis eiusdem. Et de lxxx [lib.] receptis a Johanne Lesly de firmis de Kintore. Et de j^{c} xxxiiij lib. v s. viij d. receptis a cursore de Ettryk viz. Waltero Scot. Et de x lib. receptis ab eodem. Et de iiij lib. iiij s. de firmis de Sondhip dicte wardie. Et de xv lib. vj s. receptis ab eodem per Edwardum Spital. Et de j^{c} lxxxxv lib. a domino Hume, cursore de Yarow, de dictis

firmis in dicto scaccario. Summa huius oneris, iij^{m} ix^{c} xxxvj lib. j d. ob.

[f. 4^{r}] Item idem o[nerat se de xx s. receptis] a ball[ivis burgi de] Northberwic de [firmis burgali]bus burgi eius[dem]. Et de x lib. a bal[livis de Selkir]k. Et xl s. ob[olo a] ballivis de Ruthir[glen. Et de] xiij s. iiij d. de Striveling. Et de iij lib. xiiij s. a ballivis de Lawdir. Et de iij lib. a ballivis de Edinburgh. Et de x lib. a ballivis de Folkir[k]. Et de iij lib. a ballivis de Jedworth. Et de vj s. viij d. a ballivis de Dumbretane. Et de xl lib. a ballivis de Banff de diversis annis. Et de v lib. vj s. viij d. a ballivis de Renfrew. Et de xx lib. a ballivis de Drumfres. Et de iiij lib. vj s. viij d. a ballivis de Linlithqw. Et de v lib. a ballivis de Innerkething. Et de iij lib. vj s. viij d. a ballivis de Cwraile. Et de xv lib. xviij s. a ballivis de Culane. Et de x lib. a ballivis de Perth de quadam compositione cum ipsis facta. Et de xxx s. a ballivis de Kingorne. Et de iiij lib. a ballivis de Lanark. Et de xxij s. viij d. de Montros. Et de iij lib. vj s. viiij d. a ballivis de Wigtoun. Et de xiij s. iiij d. a ballivis de Dunde. Et de vj lib. a ballivis de Irwyne. Et de l^{c} xxj lib. v s. a ballivis de Innernes de dicto anno. Summa huius oneris, ii^{c} lxxv lib. ix s. viij [d.].

[f. 4^{v}] Item [idem onerat] se de xxviij s. vj d. receptis a cust[umariis magn]e custume de Northberwik et de [iiij lib. a] custumariis de Haddingtoun. Et de xxix lib. a custumario de Dunbar. Et de xxv lib. iij s. ij d. a custumario de Striveling. Et de v lib. xiiij s. ix d. obolo a custumario de Cupro. Et xxj lib. iij s. vj d. a custumario de Pettinweme. Et de xxx s. ij d. a custumario de Kingorne. Et de xxv lib. iij s. ix d. obolo a custumario de Are. Et de lvj lib. iiij d. a custumariis de Perth. Et de x lib. iiij s. ix d. de custuma de Kirkcudbrycht et Wigtoun. Et de x lib. x s. ix d. a custumario de Innerkething. Et de v lib. iiij s. iij d. a custumariis de Carrale. Et de xxx lib. x s. i d. obolo a Johanne Wynd de Disart. Et de xxxviij lib. xv s. vj d. a custumariis de Dunde. Et de vij lib. iiij s. iiij d. a custumariis de Arbroth. Et de v lib. xiij s. iiij d. a custumario de Montros. Et de j^{c} lxix lib. xij s. x d. a custumario de Abirdene. Et de viij^{c} lxiiij lib. x s. iiij d. receptis a

quondam Jacobo Thuring, uno custumariorum de Edinburgh. Et de iij^{c} xvj lib. xi s. iiij d. obolo receptis a Georgio Towris, altro custumariorum, in dicto scaccario. Et a dictis custumariis de Are per receptionem Johannis Striveling iij lib. vj s. viij d. Summa huius oneris, j^{m} vj^{c} xxxj lib. viij s. iiij d.

[f. 5^{r}] Item idem onerat [se de lxxxxiij] lib. per vendicionem duarum lastarum [dacrarum] corriorum per tempus compoti. Et de xxxv [lib. per v]endicionem sexingentarum pellium lanutarum venditarum per compotantem per idem tempus. Et de xiiij lib. per vendicionem quadringentarum octuaginta pellium dictarum *schorlingis* venditarum ut supra per dictum tempus. Et de xxx lib. pro intestinis martarum et mutonum ex consideratione pro hac vice. Summa huius oneris, j^{c} lxxij lib. Summa totius oneracionis, vj^{m} ij^{c} xix lib. iij s. vj d. obolus.

[f. 5^{v}] [Expense eiusdem.] In primis allocatur compotanti per sol[ucionem facta]m ad expensas domicilii domini [regis a] primo die mensis Decembris inclusive anno Domini &c. nonagesimiquinti usque in primum diem mensis Decembris exclusive anni Domini &c. nonagesimisexti, qui est annus integer, ut patet in libris adinfra particulariter examinatis super compotum, preter propria domini regis, iij^{m} v^{c} xxij lib. x s. xj d. obolus. Et pro speciebus et chandria emptis et entratis in eisdem libris etiam particulariter examinatis super compotum, ix^{c} lvj lib. xij s. v d. Et pro diversis vinis emptis per idem tempus et intratis in dictis libris particulariter ut supra examinatis, v^{c} lix lib. iiij s. vj d. Et pro expensis dictis *lez uncostez* viz. carbonibus, aqua, et vasis ligneis preter expensas navium, viij^{c} x lib. iij s. Et pro expensis factis in stabulo regis et servicio eiusdem preter propria domini regis in feno et averiis, iiij^{c} xl lib. viij s. iiij d. preter expensas equorum Anglicorum. Et pro expensis factis extra domicilium in excercitu regis apud diversa loca versus regnum Anglie ut patet in libris earundem, vj^{c} xxix lib. iij s. vj d. Et pro expensis factis in averia ut patet in dictis libris, j^{c} lxxxv lib. ij s. vj d. Summa expensarum, vij^{m} j^{c} iij lib. v s. ij d. obolus.

[f. 6r] De quibus [allocatur compotanti per] solucionem factam Jacobo Edmonst[one, custodi vasorum] argenteorum, percipienti in anno [viginti lib]ras, de anno compoti, xx lib. Et Roberto Lundy de [Balgony], militi, primo hostiario camere regis, Ade Hepburne de Ogistoun, eciam militi, magistro stabuli, Patricio Creichtoun, panitario, Archibaldo Edmondstoun, butellario, Petro Creichtoun, magistro garderobe, militibus, David Forsitht, Jacobo Mersar, Thome Franche et Waltero Lesly, marescallis, Willelmo Sinclar, hostiario camere exterioris, quolibet eorum percipiente in anno viginti mercas, qui sunt decem in numero, de anno compoti, jc xxxiij lib. vj s. viij d. Et Henrico Alani, clerico librorum domicilii, Johanni Striveling, senescallo regis, Jacobo Redheuche, senescallo domicilii, Donaldo Crome, carnifici, Willelmo Fery, foderatori, Johanni Stele, sartori, necnon Johanni Kinloch et Willelmo Balfour, janitoribus, ipsis duobus in pabulo equorum et gagiis verletorum percipientibus in anno decem libras, qui sunt octo in numero, lxxx lib. Et Thome Schaw, archicoco, Jacobo Jaklin, barbetonsori, et Ormond, signifero, quolibet eorum percipiente salariter (?) decem libras, de dicto anno, xxx lib. Et Jacobo Lamb in panitria, Roberto Douglas in butellaria vini, Willelmo Forsytht in panitria aule, [f. 6v] Ma[chaeli Balfour in] butellaria cervisie, Johanni Kirkwod in l[ardnaria, Willelm]o Douglas in panitria, Willelmo Douglas [in panit]ria, Willelmo Erth, coco principali curie, J[acobo D]og, Willelmo Spicehous, David Caldwell, Georgio Striveling, Johanni Caldwell, hostiariis aule, Karalo Maxwell, Willelmo Liddale in averia, Johanni Cannt in parva lardnaria et Alexandro Stevinsone, custodi naperie, quolibet eorum percipiente in anno sex marcas, qui sunt septemdecem in numero, lxviij lib. Et Ricardo Brouster, Alexandro Brouster, Thome Alani, abbreviatori compotorum, Henrico Mair et Alexandro Gryme, emptori, qui sunt quinque in numero, quolibet eorum percipiente in anno quinque mercas, de dicto anno, xvj lib. xiij s. iiij d. Et Donaldo Dow, emptori piscium, Andree Dowle, Johanni Terras, Alexandro Lyle, Patricio Gildow, Thome Forret, Hectori Lowry, Jacobo de Averia et uni fabro in stabulo

regis, Willelmo Creichtoun et Thome Paite in camera regis, Alexandro Balfour in butellaria curie, Johanni Douglas in cellario vini regis, Johanni Flemyng in lardnaria, Patricio Roule in speciaria, Willelmo Danyelstoun in panetria curie, Alexandro Murray, candelario, Thome Bell pro corriis et pellibus conservandis, Johanni Wallace, subcustodi vasorum argenteorum, Johanni Watsoun [f. 7r] custodi vasorum [stanneorum, Donaldo, custodi mule, Arthuro] Lyoun, Roberto [Copper, David Stevinsone] Johanni Leche, carbonario, Margarete Musche, lotrici, W[illelmo] Myretoun, hostiario coquine, Gileristo et Gilberto, cocis, Alexandro Cuke, Alexandro Furrour, Cars et Roberto, coco, qui sunt in numero xxxiiij persone, quolibet eorum pereipiente in anno quatuor mereas, de anno compoti, lxxxx lib. xiij s. iiij d. Et Malcolmo, verleto aule, et duobus verletis in coquina regis, duobus verletis in coquina familie, quolibet eorum pereipiente in anno duas mercas, de dicto anno, vj lib. xiij s. iiij d. Et *lez turnebrochis* in dictis coquinis pro eorum indumentis yemalibus, iij lib. vj s. viij d. Et uni veterano de mandato domini regis speciale de eodem anno, x lib. Et Kintire, signifero, de dicto anno, x lib. Et Thome Cragingelt, clerico rotulatoris, de dicto anno, iij lib. vj s. viij d. Et Alexandro, magistro Hume, ciphario, Patricio, magistro Gray, *le kervour*, ex mandato domini regis de dicto anno in eorum feodis, xxvj lib. xiij s. iiij d. Summa harum expensarum, iiij^{c} lxxxxviij lib. xiij s. iiij d.

[f. 7v] [Insuper allocatur com]potanti per solucionem factam Jacobo [Lamb], Roberto Douglas, Willelmo Douglas, Willelmo Forsitht, Johani Cauldwell, Georgeo Striveling, Michaeli Balfour, Johanni Kirkwod, Ricardo Brouster, Jacobo Dog, Willelmo Danyelstoun, Willelmo Erth, David Caldwell, Johanni Cannt, Willelmo Myretoun, David Stevinsone, Arthuro Lioun, Roberto, ciphario, Alexandro Stevinsoun, quondam Johanni Leche, Patricio Roule, Alexandro Broster, Willelmo Crechtoun, quondam Thome Paite, Johanni Flemyng, Alexandro Kers, Alexandro Gryme, Donaldo Dow, Henrico Mair, Johanni Dougles, Alexandro Balfour, qui sunt in numero triginta et unus, quolibet pereipiente in anno triginta quinque solidos

pro pabulo equorum suorum, de anno compoti, liiij lib. v s. Summa harum expensarum patet.

[f. 8r] Insuper allocatur compotanti pro expensis scaccarii in mensibus Junii et Julii infra hoc compotum ut patet in libris dietarum eiusdem particulariter examinatis super compotum, jc xxvij lib. xij s. Et pro pergamino ad rotulos et pro papiro, xxx s. viij d. Et clerico registri pro feodo suo et roba, xxij lib. Et domino Henrico Alani, archidiacono Dunblanensi, et magistro Ricardo Roberti pro feodis et laboribus suis de anno compoti, xx lib. Et clericis scribentibus rotulos in dicto scaccario, v lib. Et pro cooptorio, mensa et sedilibus hostiario scaccarii, iiij lib. v s. Et pro expensis ambaxiatorum regis Hispanie in mensibus Decembris et Januarii infra hoc compotum per spacium triginta quatuor dierum ut patet in libris dictarum expensarum particulariter examinatis super compotum, jc xxxix lib. iij s. vij d. Et pro diversis nunciis euntibus in diversis regni partibus per inportatum firmarum et gressumarum ex consideratione auditorum, xxvj lib. xiij s. iiij d. Summa harum expensarum, iijc xlv lib. xiiij s. vij d.

[f. 8v] Insuper allocatur compotanti pro superexpensis suis factis in ultimo compoto suo ut patet in pede eiusdem redditi apud Striveling primo die mensis Decembris anno Domini &c. nonagesimo quinto, jm viijc xj lib. xix s. xj d. obolus. Summa harum expensarum patet.

Et sic superexposuit compotans in toto iijm vc lxxxxiiij lib. xiiij s. vj d.

[f. 9r] Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimoseptimo.

[f. 9v blank]

Account rendered at Edinburgh on 18 July, 1498, for the period from 1 December, 1496, to 9 August, 1497

[f. 10r] Compotum Duncani Forestar de Skipinch, militis, compotoris (?), redditum apud Edinburgh decimo-octavo [die] mensis Julii anno Domini &c. nonagesimo-octavo de omnibus receptis suis et expensis a die primo mensis Decembris anni Domini &c. nonagesimisexti inclusive usque in vicesimum primum diem mensis Junii exclusive anni Domini &c. nonagesimiseptimi, qui sunt quasi octo menses, ut patet in libris domicilii, et a dicto die usque in nonum diem mensis Augusti exclusive anni nonagesimiseptimi ut supra.

Idem onerat se in primis de viij s. vij d. receptis a vicecomite de Peblis in scaccario anni nonagesimiseptimi. Et de xvj lib. xiij s. j d. a vicecomite de Kincardin. Et de ij s. receptis a dicto vicecomite de Peblis de annuo redditu de Kinef et albis firmis dicti vicecomitatus. Et de vj s. iij d. a vicecomite de Perth. [f. 10v] Et de xiiij s. [iiij] d. a vicecomite de Ergile. Et de iij s. a vicecomite de [Clak]-mannan. Et de xxxv s. ix d. a vicecomite de Abirdene. Et de iiij lib. iij s. a vicecomite de Fiff in dicto scaccario. Summa huius oneris, xxiiij lib. vj s.

Item idem onerat se de xxxvj lib. xij s. receptis a Jacobo Aikinhed, camerario de Linlithqwschir, in dicto scaccario et de xxxviij lib. xj s. viij d. ab Andrea Wod, camerario de Fethirkerne. [f. 11r] Et de jc x[xv lib.] viij s. x d. receptis a camerario de Bute et Arane. Et de iijc xvj lib. xv s. a cursore de Twedale. Et de ijc xxxviij lib. viij s. et de iiij lib. xvj s., summa utriusque ijc xliij lib. iiij s., receptis a cursore de Ettrik de dicto anno. Et de vc viij lib. xv d. a Jacobo Douglas, camerario de Murray. Et de xxv s. receptis ab eodem. Et de jc vj lib. v s. iiij d. receptis a Patricio Hume, camerario de Strivelinschir. Et de iiijc xxxiij lib. a domino Sinclar, aridentario de Orknay. Et de ijc xv lib. xij s. ab Alexandro Gordoune de Migmar.

Et de lxxvj lib. ab eodem de termino Sancti Martini post compotum solutis in Abirdene extra rotulos. Et de iij^{c} lxvj lib. xiij s. iiij d. a domino Gordoune de Stradoune in scaccario. Et de lxvj lib. xiij s. iiij d. ab eodem post scaccarium et non intratis in rotulis. Et de iiij^{c} viij lib. iij s. xj d. a Willelmo Dromond, camerario de Stretherne. Et de ij^{c} lxiij lib. xviij s. viij d. a Thoma Wardroper, camerario de Kinclevin et Strabrawne. Et de lxiij lib. xvij s. ij d. a quondam Willelmo Clapan de firmis [f. 11^{v}] de Ballincreif. Et de xxxvij lib. xvj s. ix d. a Jacobo Redheuch de firmis de Mentcth. Et de ij^{c} lxxxx lib. xx d. a magistro Willelmo Scot, camerario de Fiff. Et de xvij lib. xij s. ab eodem camerario per vendicionem ordei. Et de xxxij lib. per vendicionem ordei. Et de vij lib. iiij s. per vendicionem avenarum. Summa huius oneris in rotulis et extra rotulos, iij^{m} vj^{c} liiij lib. xv s. xj d.

Extra rotulos

Non intratis in rotulis

Item idem onerat se de j^{c} xl lib. de firmis de Fiff a domino Willelmo Scot, milite, camerario eiusdem, in scaccario et in rotulis. Summa huius oneris patet.

[f. 12^{r}] Item idem onerat se de iij lib. vj s. viij d. receptis a ballivis de Carale anno nonagesimo septimo in scaccario eiusdem anni. Et de xxij s. viij d. a ballivis de Montros. Et de x lib. a ballivis de Haddingtoun. [f. 12^{v}] Et de v lib. a ballivis de Innerkething. Et de xiij s. iiij d. a ballivis de Dunde. Et de xx s. a ballivis de Northberwik. Et de v lib. vj s. viij d. a ballivis de Renfrew. Et de vj lib. a ballivis de Irwyne. Et de vj lib. xiij s. iiij d. a ballivis de Drumfres. Et de xiij s. iiij d. a ballivis de Striveling. Et de iij lib. a ballivis de Edinburgh. Et de xlvj lib. xviij s. a ballivis de Innernes. Et de iij lib. vj s. viij d. a ballivis de Wigtoun. Et de iiij lib. vj s. viij d. a ballivis de Linlithqw. Et de xiij lib. vj s. viij d. a ballivis de Banff. Summa huius oneris, j^{c} x lib. xiiij s.

[f. 13^{r}] Item idem onerat se de xix lib. v s. vj d. receptis a custumariis [de Pe]rth anno nonagesimo septimo. Et de xxxviij s. viij d. a Johanne Cuke de Pettinweme. Et de v lib. iij s. vij d. de Abirbrothok. Et de lxxxxvj lib. a Jacobo de Dunbar de custumis de Elgyne, Innernes et Fores. Et de j^{c} lxxx lib. xvij s. x d. a David Menyeis,

custumario de Abirdene. Et de ix lib. xviij s. x d. a domino de Bondby, de Wigtoun et Kirkcudbrycht custumario. Et de xij s. vj d. a custumario de Northberwik. Et de iij lib. xv s. viij d. a custumario de Lithqw. Et xl s. viij d. a custumario de Carrale. Et de lxxxxiij lib. x s. ij d. a custumariis de Hadington. Et de xiij lib. iij s. x d. obl. a custumariis de Striveling. Et de v^{c} j lib. xv s. iiij d. a quondam Jacobo Thuring et Georgio Towris, custumariis illius anni. Et de j^{c} lxxviij lib. ij s. j d. ab Edwardo Spetale et dicto Georgio. Et de vj lib. iij s. x d. a dictis custumariis de Lithqw in cervisia empta. Summa huius oneris, j^{m} j^{c} xij lib. viij s. vj d. obl.

[f. 13^{v}] [Extra r]otulos

Item idem onerat se de j^{c} lib de firmis de Kabrach extra rotulos. [Et] de lx lib. a Nigello Stewart de gressuma sua terrarum occupatarum per eundem. Et de xxx lib. de Kintore a Johanne Lesly de Wardris. Et de xiij lib. vj s. viij d. de dictis firmis in feodo Walteri Lesly, marescalli. Et de ix^{c} lxj lib. xij s. viij d. a Edwardo Spetale, camerario Galwidie, de firmis et gressumis dicti dominii. Et de lvj lib. de firmis et gressumis de Stewartoun ab eodem Edwardo extra rotulos. Summa huius oneris, j^{m} ij^{c} xx lib. xix s. iiij d.

Item idem onerat se de lxiiij lib. per vendicionem unius laste duodecim dacrarum corriorum intratarum in libris per tempus compoti. Et de xxvij lib. per vendicionem quadringentarum sexaginta pellium lanutarum per dictum tempus. Et de xxiiij lib. de intestinis mertorum et mutonum de anno compoti. Summa huius oneris, j^{c} xv lib. Summa totalis oneris, vj^{m} iij^{c} lxxviij lib. iij s. ix d. ob.

[f. 14^{r}] Expense eiusdem. In primis allocatur compotanti per solucionem factam ad [expen]sas domicilii domini regis a primo die mensis Decembris anni nonagesimisexti usque in vicesimum primum mensis Julii exclusive anni Domini &c. nonagesimi septimi, qui sunt quasi octo menses, ut patet in libris domicilii particulariter examinatis super compotum, ij^{m} ij^{c} vij lib. xviij s. v d. ob. Et eidem pro speciebus et chandria emptis et intratis in eisdem libris eciam particulariter examinatis super compotum per idem tempus, vj^{c} lxvij lib. ix s. viij d. Et pro vino empto et

eciam intrato et expendito per idem tempus, ut patet in dictis libris examinatis ut supra, v^{c} xxiiij lib. xvj s. viij d. Et in averia preter propria domini regis, ut patet in eisdem libris per dictum tempus, iij^{c} lxix lib. ij s. j d. Et in expensis dictis *lez uncostez* viz. carbonibus, aqua, naulo et similibus eciam particulariter examinatis, vj^{c} xxxiiij lib. vj s. vj d. Et eidem pro expensis domini regis factis in diversis excercitibus suis super merchias et in Anglia, primo in mense Junii, secundo in mense Julii apud Norchame et in mense Augusti apud Heytoun in Anglia a xxj^{o} mensis Julii prescripti usque nonum Augusti exclusive anni nonagesimiseptimi, ut patet in libris adextra, preter propria domini regis, ut patet in libris dictarum expensarum ad extra, iiij^{c} lxxxx lib. iij d., v c. frumenti grangii de Dunbar, ij c. frumenti in mense Junii eiusdem grangii, j c. v b. frumenti Moravie, ix c. x b. brasii de Dunbar et ij^{c} xl panes proprietatis expendit (?). Summa expensarum, iiij^{m} viij^{c} lxxxx[iij] lib. xiij s. vij d. obolus.

vij c. frumenti de Dunbar, ix c. x b. brasii de Dunbar, j c. v. b. frumenti Moravie et ij^{c} xl pan. proprietatis de Dunbar

[f. 14^{v}] Item allocatur compotanti per solucionem factam Jacobo Edmons[toun], custodi vasorum argenteorum, percipienti in anno viginti libras, de termino Penthecostez infra hoc compotum, x lib. Et Roberto Lundy de Balgony militi, primo hostiario camere regis, Ade Hepburne de Ogistone, magistro stabuli, Patricio Crichtoun, panitario, Archibaldo Edmonstoun, butellario, Petro Crechtoun, magistro garderobe, militibus, David Forsith, Jacobo Mersar, Thome Franche, marescallis, Willelmo Sinclar, hostiario camere exterioris, quolibet eorum percipiente in anno viginti mercas de termino compoti, qui sunt novem in numero, lx lib. Et Henrico Alani, clerico librorum domicilii, Johanni Striveling, senescallo regis, Jacobo Redhuch, senescallo domicilii, Donaldo Crom, carnifici, Willelmo Fery, foderatori, Johanni Stele, sartori, quolibet eorum percipiente in anno decem libras de dicto termino, qui sunt in numero sex persone, de dicto termino, xxx lib. Et Thome Schaw, archicoco, et Jacobo Jaklin, barbitonsori, de dicto termino, x lib. Et Ormond et Kintyr, signiferis, percipientibus similiter de eisdem terminis, x lib. Et Jacobo Lamb in panitria, Roberto Dowglas in butellaria

vini, Willelmo Forsytht in panitria aule, Michaeli Balfour in butellaria cervisie, Johanni Kirkwod in lardnaria, Willelmo Dowglas in panitria, Willelmo Erth, coco principali curie, Jacobo Dog, Willelmo Spicehous, David Caldwell, Georgio Striveling, Johanni Caldwell, hostiariis aule, Karolo Maxwell, Willelmo Liddale [f. 15r] in averia, Johanni [C]ant in parva lardnaria, Alexandro Stevinsone, custodi [na]perie, quolibet eorum percipiente in anno sex mercas, de dicto termino, xxxij lib. Et Ricardo Brouster, Alexandro Brouster, Thome Alani, abbreviatori compotorum, Henrico Mare et Alexandro Gryme, qui sunt quinque in numero, viij lib. vj s. viij d. Et Donaldo Dow, emptori piscium, Andree Dowle, Johanni Terras, Alexandro Lile, Patricio Gildow, Thome Foret, Hectori Lowry, Jacobo de Averia et uni fabro in stabulo regis, Johanni Paterson, Johanni Williamson in stabulo regis, Willelmo Crechtoun, Thome Pait de camera regis, Alexandro Balfour in butellaria curie, Johanni Dowglas in cellario vini, Johanni Flemyng in lardnaria, Patricio Rowle in speciaria, Willelmo Danielstone in panitria curie, Alexandro Murray, candelario, Thome Bell pro corriis et pellibus conservandis, Johanni Wallace, subcustodi vasorum argenteorum, Johanni Watson, custodi vasorum stanneorum, Donaldo, custodi mule, Arthuro Lyoun, Roberto Coppar, David Stevinsone, cipharis, Johanni Leche, carbonario, Margarete Musche, lotrici, Willelmo Myretoun, hostiario coquine, Gilcristo et Gilberto, cocis, Alexandro Cuke, Alexandro Furrour, Cars et Roberto, coco, qui sunt in numero xxxvj, quolibet eorum percipiente in anno quatuor mercas, xlviij lib. Et Malcolmo, virleto aule, et duobus virletis in coquina regis, duobus [f. 15v] virletis in coquina familie, percipientibus in anno duas mercas, de dicto [termin]o, iij lib. vj s. viij d. Et *le turnbrochis* in [dictis] coquinis de dicto termino, xxxiij s. iiij d. Et viterario de mandato regis de termino compoti, v lib. Et Thome Cragingelt, clerico rotulatoris, de dicto termino, xxxiij s. iiij d. et magistro Hume, ciphario, et Patricio magistro Gray, *carvour*, de dicto termino, xiij lib. vj s. viij d. Summa harum expensarum, ijc xxxiij lib. vj s. viij d.

Insuper allocatur compotanti per solucionem factam omnibus personis prescriptis capientibus feoda de termino Sancti Martini huius compoti, excepto viterario, de dicto termino, ij^{c} xxviij lib. vj s. viij d. Summa huius expense patet.

Insuper allocatur compotanti pro pabulis equorum Jacobi Lamb, Roberti Douglas in butellaria vini, Willelmi Douglas, Willelmi Forsith, Michaelis Balfour, Johannis Kirkwod, Ricardi Brouster, Jacobi Dog, David Caldwell, Alexandri Gryme, Alexandri Brouster, Willelmi Crechtoun, Thome Pait, Henrici Mair, Alexandri Balfour, Johannis Fleming, [f. 16^{r}] Patricii Roule, [Wille]lmi [Dan]yelstoun, Johannis Doug[las], Johannis Can[t], [Wille]lmi Myretoun, Johannis Caldwell, Georgii Striveling, Arthuri Lyoun, David Stevinson, Roberti Copper, Alexandri Stevinson, Johannis Leich, Alexandri Ker[se], Donaldi [Dow], Willelmi Erth, qui sunt in numero triginta et unus, quolibet percipiente in anno triginta quinque solidos. Summa de anno compoti, liiij lib. v s. Summa huius expense patet.

Insuper allocatur compotanti pro expensis scaccarii in mensibus Junii, Julii et Novembris infra hoc compotum. prout rotulator fidem fecit super compotum, lxxxxvj lib. Et pro pargameno ad rotulos et papiro pro scaccario, xxx s. viij d. Et clerico registri pro feodo suo et roba de anno compoti, xxij lib. Et magistro Ricardo Roberti, domino Henrico Alani et Roberto Colvile pro suis laboribus in dicto scaccario de eodem anno, xxx lib. Et clericis scribentibus rotulos in eodem scaccario, vij lib. x s. Et pro coopertorio mensa et sedilibus in dicto scaccario, iiij lib. v s. Et pro expensis ambaxiatorum regis Hispanie per spacium undecim dierum infra hoc compotum, xxxiiij lib. v s. v d. Et pro expensis commissariorum viz. comitis Ergadie, abbatis de Dunfermlin, thesaurarii, rotulatoris et aliorum assedancium. [f. 16^{v}] terras . . . . . et Carrac ut patet in libris expensarum, lxxvj lib. v s. viij d. Et diversis nunciis euntibus in diversis regni partibus per tempus compoti pro fermis et gressumis inportat[?], xx lib. Et pro expensis quondam Ranaldi Roy, filii Johannis de Insulis, militis (?), suspensi apud Kintire per

regem ibidem existentem, de anno compoti et tribus terminis ante hoc compotum, lxxx lib. solutis per compotantem domino de Lundy et Patricio [Hume de Polworth], militi, pro dictis suis expensis. Summa harum expensarum, iij^{c} lxxj lib. xvj s. ix d.

Insuper allocatur compotanti pro suis expensis factis in ultimo compoto suo ut patet in pede eiusdem, iij^{m} v^{c} lxxxxiiij lib. xiiij s. vj d. Summa totalis expensarum, ix^{m} iij^{c} lxxvj lib. iij s. ij d. ob.

Et sic superexposuit compotans ij^{m} ix^{c} lxxxxvij lib. xix s. v d.

Account rendered at Edinburgh on 31 January, 1498/9, for the period from 31 May, 1498. (Incomplete)

[f. 26r] Compotum Duncani Forestar de Skipinche, [compotorum rotulatoris?] redditum apud Edinburgh ultimo die mensis Januarii anno Domini &c. nonagesimo-octavo de omnibus receptis suis et expensis a die ultimo mensis Maii anni nonagesimioctavi predicti.

Idem onerat se in primis de v lib. xvij s. vj d. per arreragia ultimi compoti sui redditi anno nonagesimooctavo apud Edinburgh vicesimooctavo Julii anno (*sic*). Summa arreragii patet.

Item idem onerat se de ix c. ij b. iij peccis ordei receptis a camerario de Fife, ut patet in compoto suo reddito apud Striveling vicesimoquinto Septembris anno nonagesimo-tertio. Et de xj martis de Glenderowale a camerario de Cowale, ut patet in dicto compoto suo. Et de iiij c. vij b. j f. ij peccis frumenti a camerario comitatus Marchie, ut patet in compoto compotantis reddito anno nonagesimo-quarto undecimo Decembris, ut patet in eodem. Et de vij c. viij b. ordei comitatus Marchie receptis a dicto camerario, ut patet in compoto compotantis reddito primo Decembris anno [f. 26v] nonagesimoquinto. Et de iij c. iij b. ij f. ordei dominii de . . . . . ut patet in dicto compoto. Et de iiij c. . . . . dominii de Strivelinshir oneratis in compoto compotantis reddito anno nonagesimoquinto ut supra. Summa huius oneris victualium de arreragis compotantis.

Item idem onerat se de lxx lib. receptis a vicecomite de Are de firmis terrarum de Trabeauch per tempus compoti.

Et de xxxiij s. iiij d. a vicecomite de Abirdene in scaccario apud Striveling in mense Februarii anno nonagesimonono post hoc compotum. Et de xj s. vij d. a vicecomite de Kincardin in dicto scaccario. Et de xx lib. a vicecomite de Renfrew in dicto scaccario. Et de xx lib. ab Archibaldo Edmonston, sensescallo de Menteith.

[f. 27r] Item idem [onerat se de . . . . . receptis a Patricio] Hume, camerario [de] Strivelingshir. Et [de] iiij b. j f. frumenti de Strivelingshir ab [eodem]. Et de iij c. . . . . dicti dominii [receptis a] camerario. [Et de xj lib.] per vendicionem unius celdre sex bollarum farrine avenatice de Bothkennar ab eodem camerario. Et xij c. viiij b. iij f. farrine de Bothkennar liberatis domino Alexandro Crag, capellano, Waltero Forestair, militi, et relicte quondam Alexandri Broustair de mandato compotantis. Et de [j c.] farrine de Bothkennar liberata Johanni [Gardnar] de Linlithqw de mandato compotantis. Et de xij lib. a camerario de Fife per vendicionem viginti quatuor bollarum ordei dominii de Fiffe liberatarum Ricardo Broustair. Et de lxviij lib. iij s. iiij d. a Jacobo Redheuch, camerario de Menteith. Et de xiij lib. xj s. viij d. ab Andrea Wod de firmis de Fethirkerne. Et de jc ij lib. a Jacobo Douglas, camerario Moravie. Et j lasta x b. salmonum piscarie de Speya receptis ab Alexandro Innes de eodem. Et de iiijc lib. receptis ab Alexandro domino Gordoune de grassuma et introitu eiusdem. Et de jc xxxix lib. xj s. ij d. a camerario de Straitherne in rotulis. Et de xxxix lib. ij s. iiij d. a comite de Ergyle de firmis de Rosneth et Cowale. Et de lxj lib. [f. 27v] [receptis ab] Alex[andro Ferquhar]soun de firmis dominiorum de Petty et B[rauchlie]. Et de xxxiij lib. vj s. viij d. a Johanne . . . . . de firmis de Urquhard [et Glenmorischane]. Et de iic xix lib. xj s. a David Hoppringill seniore de firmis warde de Yarow. Et de jc [xiij] lib. xviij s. vj d. a Waltero Scot, cursore de Ettrik. Et de lxxvij lib. a David Hoppringill juniore. Et ijc lxij lib. ix s. vj d. ab Edwardo Spittale, camerario Galwedie, de firmis eiusdem in pecunia. Et de xxxiij lib. vj s. viij d. per vendicionem farrine Galwedie ab eodem Edwardo. Et de xxxviij lib. xvj s. a magistro Jacobo Lindissay, camerario Galwedie. Et de lxxx lib. pro farrina de Baldoune a Johanne Dunbar de Mouchrum de annis Domini nonagesimo sexto et septimo. Et de xxxv lib. ix s. a Niniano Stewart, camerario de Bute. Et de lxxx lib. ab Alexandro domino Gordone de firmis de Strathdon et

Gariauch. Et de lxxxxv lib. vj s. viij d. ab Alexandro Gordone de Megmar, milite, de firmis de Straithdee et Cromar. Et de x lib. xiij s. iiij d. de David Kennydy per vendicionem frumenti de Thomastoun in Carrik. Et de xl lib. a Johanne domino Kennydy de grassuma dominii de Carrik. Et de xij lib. vj s. viij d. a Johanne Leslie de firmis de Kyntor. Et de j^{c} xx lib.

[f. 28^{r}] de comi . . . . . .
de lxvj lib. xiij . . . . . .
de firmis de . . . . . .
Hume de f . . . . . .
iiij s. ix. d. [. Thoma Wardr]opar de Kincle[vin .]
Et de . . . . . per vendicionem duarum
celdrarum . . . . . ik venditarum Mauricio
Ward . . . . . anni nonagesimi noni

Item idem onerat se de xvj lib. a Johanne Crag, custumario de Striveling. Et de lxj lib. xv s. vj d. a David Menyeis, custumario de Abirdene. Et de xxix lib. vj s. viij d. a Willelmo Cunynghame, custumario de Dunbertane et Cow[ale].

. . . . . custumario de [f. 28^{v}] . . .
[Et de] iiij^{c} xij lib. xviij s. iiij d. a [Georgio Towris et] Edwardo Spittale, custumariis de [Edinburgh. Et de l] xxxxij lib. xiiij s. vj d. xiiij s. vj d. (*sic*) [a David] Malvill et Roberto Rynd, custumariis Edinburgi. Et de xiij lib. ab Alexandro [Craufurd], custumariorum (*sic*) bonorum Anglicanorum . . . . . Edinburgh. Et de xv lib. v s. iiij d. a Jacobo Drummond, custumario de Perth, de arreragiis suis in libro papirio extra rotulos. Et de xvij lib. a Johanne Hepburne, custumario de Hadingtoune, extra rotulos.

[f. 29^{r}] Item id[em] . . . . . .
Schaw magist . . . . . .
xij s. per ven[dicionem] . . . . . .
eschaite m . . . . . .
Abirdene . . . . . Et de xvj lib. . . . . .
vendicionem . . . . . salii (?) grassi (?) rema .
. . . . . .in castro [dic]te Jane[te].
Et de v . . . . . iij firlotis ordei, de quibus sunt

de brasio duo celdre septem bolle et una firlota, ut patet in rotulo anni nonagesimiquinti restantibus super Thoma Craufurd, granario de Leith, et Patricio Millar, ut patet in eodem rotulo. Et de viij c. xj b. iij p. brasii restantibus super Thoma Craufurd predicto de victualibus de Fiffe anno nonagesimosexto. Et de v c. xij b. ij p. brasii restantibus super Waltero Blak de Leitht de dictis victualibus eodem anno. Et de iiij c. viii b. ij f. ordei in manibus Thome Leys et Agnetis Bertoune de victualibus de Fiffe, ut patet in rotulo anni nonagesimioctavi. Et de vij c. viij b. ij f. iij p. ordei restantibus super Thoma Craufurd de firmis de Fiffe anno nonagesimoseptimo

[f. 29v] . . . . . xiij s. iiij d. pro . . . . . receptis ab Andrea . . . . . [gra]ssuma terrarum de Drymen . . . . . iiij lastis viij b. salmonum [salsarum mens]ure de Hamburgh de comp[ositione] facta [. . cum] habitantibus burgi de Fores [pro piscaria aque] de Fyndorn in partem solutionis sex lastarum salmonum dicte compositionis et . . . . . residuo dicti burgen (?) . Et de v lib [de grassu]ma foreste de Bute, ut patet in rentali.

[f. 30r] Item idem . . . . . armorum arm . . . . . ducis Eboracensis . . . . . de taxa predict . . . . . ambaxiator . . . . . induct [?] per dictum . . . . . aque de Fortht Et de vc . . . . . ab Andrea Wod de taxa . . . . . expensas dicti ducis ex parte bore[ale aque de] Forth.

[f. 30v *blank*]

[f. 31r] [Expense eiusdem. In primis allocatur compotanti . . . . . Junii . . . . ann[o Domini &c. nonagesimo o]ctavo usque in diem . . . . . anni Domini &c. nonagesimi . . . . . [q]ui sunt quinque menses kalendales [. . .] iacum (?) expensis per dominum

regem factis [apud] Louchkinkering et expensis victualium carvele Roberti Robertoune, ut patet in libris dietarum particulariter examinatis super compotum, ij^{m} lxxxxix lib. xv s. vij d. Et in speciebus et chandria per dictum tempus, ut patet in dictis libris domicilii &c. examinatis, preter species et vinum emptum ab Hispanis, j^{c} xv lib. v s. x d. Et pro diversis vinis intratis in eisdem libris per dictum tempus, lxxxxj lib. x s. vj d. Et pro expensis factis in stabulo domini regis in feno, pane et expensis servitorum stabuli per idem tempus, lxxxxj lib. viij s. j d. Et pro expensis in domicilio factis vocatis *les uncostez*, viz. carbonibus, focalibus, costralibus, candelis, cariagiis et naulo victualium, barilibus vacuis et aliis expensis, ut patet in dictis libris, j^{c} xiiij lib. xix s. xj d. [f. 31^{v}] [Summa expensarum, ij^{m} v^{c} x]ij lib. xix s.

De quibus [allocatur compo]tanti pro tribus doliis vini Hispanie [ad trigi]nta novem libras, zucuro et cera ad triginta quatuor libras, decem solidos et sex denarios, non in[tratis] in libris domicilii, emptis ab Hispanis in Dunbert[an]e, liberatis ad expensas domicilii, lxxiij lib. x s. vj d. Et eidem per solucionem factam Thome Schaw, coquo principali, de grassuma sua de Drumcors, x lib., sub periculo compotantis. Et eidem de superexpensis Georgii Tawris et Edwardi Spittale, custumariorum de Edinburgh, extendentibus ad septuaginta octo libras, sexdecim solidos et tres denarios eisdem per compotantem solutos, ut patet per literas dictorum custumariorum fatentium super compotum, lxxviij lib. xvj s. iij d.

[f. 32^{r}] De . . . . . .
ducis . . . . . burg
. . . . . .
in . . . . . ulti . . . . . .
vigin[ti] . . . . . .
obus millib . . . . . .
gint . . . . . ad viginti libras, sex . . . . . .
pipas sc . . . . . ginta duas libras, sexdecem
martis ad . . . . . libras et unam marcam, uno barili salmonum ad quadraginta solidos, sex barilibus alecium ad quinque libras octo solidos, centum mulonibus

ad tres libras et pro candelis ad decem solidos liberatos Rollando Robisoune ad provisionem navis in portu de Leitht cum servitoribus ducis Eboracensis, ut patet per scriptum dicti Rollandi de data decimiquinti Octobris in anno nonagesimosexto et super quibus victualibus libri domicilii sunt inspiciendi, lxxiij lib. xj s. iiij d. Et eidem pro uno arconio feni liberato ad pabulum equorum ducis Eboracensis, ut patet per scriptum Roberti Lund, clerici dicti ducis, x lib. Et eidem de centum libris solutis pro barca de EW de mandato domini regis, Roberto Lundy de Balgony testante voluntatem regis super compotum, j^{c} lib. Et eidem pro expensis ambaxiatorum regis Hispanie, viz. prothonotarii Hispanie, militis Hispanie et

Inspicien sunt libri domicilii.

[f. 32^{v}] . . . . . quatuor
. . . . . [ce]ntum marcas
. . . . . les ij^{c} lxvj lib.
. . . . . in renuncia
[f. 33^{r}] . . . . . quatuor annis integr[is ad(?)] introitu[m Patricii (?)] Hume (?), compotoris (?), in officio, viij lib. vj s. Et eidem de n[ov]em lastis undecim barilibus salmonum spectantibus Willelmo domino Sancti Johannis oneratis super compotum in compoto custumariorum de Abirdene, remissis per dominum regem prefato Willelmo per litteras manu sua subscriptas, onus super compotum, xxiij lib. xvj s.

REPORT BY DE LA BROSSE AND D'OYSEL ON CONDITIONS IN SCOTLAND

1559-1560

INTRODUCTION

By November 1559, the date of the document printed here, the religious reformation in Scotland had made considerable progress. In order to inform themselves more fully of the state of affairs in Scotland, especially of the ' treason ' of the Earl of Arran and his eldest son, Queen Mary and Francis II had commissioned Jacques de la Brosse and Henri Cleutin to draw up a report.[1] The result of their enquiry contains the depositions of various witnesses, including the Earl of Bothwell. This document is of considerable value. In the first place it corroborates the statements about Henry II's intentions towards the Protestants made by John Knox in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland.* These statements are supported by French documents.

As early as 1557 Henry II had tried to establish an Inquisition in France.[2] In 1559, after the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis had been concluded, he states his intentions in a letter to his ambassador at Rome : ". . . Et i'espere bien, puisque Dieu m'a donné la paix, d'employer le temps, et ce que i'auray de force en main à faire punir, chastier et extirper tous ceux qui se trouveront imitateurs de ces nouvelles Doctrines, sens y épargner personne, de quelque qualité ou dignité qu'ils soient.' [3]

Estienne Pasquier, an acute observer and critic of contemporary events, whose accuracy and veracity have never been questioned, summing up the events after the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, writes in a letter : ' . . . soudain la paix fust faite. . . . Monsieur le cardinal de Lorraine declara en plein Parlement, que l'opinion du Roy avoit esté de la faire à quelque prix et condition que ce fust, pour de là en avant

[1] For Jacques de la Brosse in Scotland see *Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse*, ed. G. Dickinson (Scottish History Society, 1942).

[2] See G. Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires d'Estat* (1666), ii, 677-8. 13 February 1556/7. ' Le Roy à M. de Selve, Minute du Secretaire.'

[3] *Op cit.*, ii, 806. 3 July 1559.

vacquer plus à son aise à l'extermination et bannissement de l'hérésie de Calvin ; ' and in another letter, written about the same time : ' Le Roy resolut, à quelque prix que ce fust, de faire la paix en deliberation de s'armer contre les Heretiques de son Royaume.' [1]

Since Mary Queen of Scots had married the dauphin, Scotland was held to come under the king of France's jurisdiction, and the same measures for the reform of the church and the suppression of heresy were to be applied there as in France. Henry II had asked the pope to send Nicolas Pellevé, bishop of Amiens, with special powers to Scotland. In spite of the urgent requests made by the cardinal of Lorraine, Henry II, the dauphin and Mary there was considerable delay before the delegation was granted to Pellevé.[2]

On 3 July, the dauphin wrote to the pope on the subject of ' le fait de la Religion en Escosse et les Seditions et entreprises qu'y font les Heretiques, tant Gens d'Eglise qu'autres.' When he succeeded his father, he considered it his duty to continue the persecution of heretics, ' dont le feu Roy son pere l'a chargé comme par testament.' [3]

It is idle to speculate what course events would have taken and what would have happened in Scotland if Henry II had not died on 10 July 1559 of a wound received in a tournament and if Francis II had not died young after a very brief reign. His death on 5 December 1560 was greeted by Knox as a ' wonderful and most joyful deliverance.' [4]

In the second place our document throws new light on the French reaction to the upheaval not only in religion but in political and civil matters in Scotland, which had reached its climax in the six months from June to December 1559.

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[1] Estienne Pasquier, *Œuvres* (ed. 1723), ii, 77, 450. For further details see L. Romier, *Les origines politiques des guerres de religion*, ii, iv. ' Le roi contre les Protestants.'

[2] See Ribier, *op. cit.*, ii, 811-12.

[3] Ribier, *op. cit.*, ii, 808-9 and 818-19, and *Calendar of State Papers relating to English Affairs at Rome* (1558-1571), no. 25. 4 July. Paul IV died on 18 August 1559.

[4] See Knox, *History of the Reformation* (ed. W. Croft Dickinson, 1949), henceforth quoted as Knox *Hist. Ref.*, i, lv, 347.

Contemporary events are seen through the eyes of the men who participated in them. Not only clergy and nobility are called upon as witnesses but bailies and citizens, whose minds were obviously troubled by their divided allegiance. It may have been easy to understand the need of change in religion, for there had been much to criticise in the old ways ; it was probably far less easy to see that hand-in-hand with the reformation in religion there would come inevitably a new policy in civil affairs.

The Queen Regent was less fortunate in her advisers than Elizabeth. Being a Frenchwoman she was unable to estimate the forces at work among the nobles, lairds, burgesses and people of Scotland. Left to her own initiative she might have reconciled the conflicting elements ; as it was, she seems to have depended on French advisers and on her brothers in particular. In Scotland Spens, Bellenden and McGill [1] were called upon to draw up the articles of the charge against the Hamiltons. It was hardly to be expected that military men, like d'Oysel and La Brosse, and other foreigners could assess the importance of events and, in dealing with them, show the same sagacity, far-sightedness and political acumen as Cecil. They were dealing with happenings which they did not understand ; they were therefore unable to assess the forces at work and the importance of events which were destined to have far-reaching consequences, not only for Scotland but also for France and England.

The document is contained in the Archives of the Foreign Office, Paris, *Mémoires et documents, Angleterre*, rég. 15, folios 130^{r}-153^{v}. Punctuation and capitals are printed as in the original.

G. Dickinson.

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[1] Bellenden and McGill also drew up for the French court a statement on the law of treason in Scotland printed for the Bannatyne Club in 1824 and also in L. Paris, *Négociations sous François II*, as *Discours Particulier* and dated 11 January 1559/60. This document dealing with the misdeeds of Arran may well be related to the *Discours*. Having heard this report, the French would naturally want information on the Scots law of treason.

Aux Roy Et Royne Nos Souverains

[130r] Voz treshumbles et tres obeissans serviteurs et subiectz Jacques de la brosse Sr. dudit lieu chevalier de votre ordre votre Chambellan Cappitaine de cinquante hommes darmes de voz ordonnances Et henry Cleutin Sr. doysel et de Villeparisis gentilhomme ordinaire de votre chambre et votre lieutenant general en ce pays et royaulme descosse vous desirent toute prosperite Plaise a voz maiestez entendre que nous avons receu voz lettres patentes en forme de commission donnees a Bloys le Xeme Jour de nouvembre lan mil cinq cens cinquante neuf dont la teneur ensuyt/francois et Marye par la grace de dieu Roy et Royne de france et descosse.[1] A noz amez et feaulx messire Jacques de la brosse Sr. dudit lieu chevalier de notre ordre et henry Cleutin Sr. doysel notre Lieutenant au pays et Royaulme descosse Salut. Comme apres avoir este advertiz de la rebellion et crimes de leze maieste [2] commis audit pays et royaulme descosse par James hamelton conte daran [3] chevalier de notre ordre et James hamelton son filz aisne a lencontre de nous leurs princes souverains par les assemblees de gens en armes hostilitez et aultres actes de felonnye et Infidelite par eulx faictz Et quilz continuent encores chacun Jour pour de tout en tout opprimer audit royaulme notre auctorite et se lattribuer par la force des armes contre tout droict divin et humain Nous ayons

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[1] It is interesting, in view of the subsequent terms of the Treaty of Edinburgh, to note that this style does not include 'England and Ireland.' See *Foreign Calendar : Elizabeth* (henceforth quoted as *F.C.E.*), i, no. 845. 13 June 1559. 'Arms of England borne by Queen Mary of Scotland'—'a thing not to be passed over in silence.' (*ib.* no. 840. Cecil to Throckmorton).

[2] Hence the *Discours Particulier*, which is mainly a treatise on the law of treason in Scotland.

[3] It is to be noted that Arran is not called Châtelherault ; he was out of favour at the French court, because after a long period of wavering he had at last joined the Congregation after the arrival of his son, the Earl of Arran, in Scotland at the beginning of September 1559 (see Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 207, n. 3, 229, n. 1).

advise comme Il est plus que necessaire faire Informer des cas susditz Encores quilz soient si notoires quil nest possible de plus Pour ces causes a plain confians de voz personnes et de voz sens suffisances loyaultez et fidelitez Vous avons commis et depputez commectons et depputons par ces presentes [130v], pour Informer secretement diligemment et bien de tout sur lesdictz rebellions desobeissance assemblees de gens en armes hostilitez et aultres crymes de felonnye de leze maieste commis et perpetrez par les susdits contes Et sil y a aulcunes lettres escriptes par lesdits contes ou lun deulx par lesquelles les choses susdites se puissent veriffier en tout ou partie vous ferez examiner tesmoings sur les seing et escripture desdites lettres et la susdite Information faicte lenvoyerras feablement close et scellee par devers nous et les gens de nostre conseil prive pour Icelle veoir et apres en avoir entendu le contenu en estre ordonne ainsi que de raison. Car tel est nostre plaisir De ce faict nous avons donne et donnons plain pouvoir puissance auctorite commission et mandement special Mandons et commandons a tous noz Justiciers officiers et subiectz que a vous en ce faisant obeissent Et entendent diligemment Donne a bloys le dixeme Jour de nouvembre Lan de grace mil cinq cens Cinquante neuf Et de noz regnez assavoir de france le premier et descosse les deuxme et dixseptiesme Signe par les Roy et Royne de grantrye [1] et scelle du grant seel de voz maiestez en cire Jaulne sur simple queue. Lesquelles lettres par nous receues avons communiquees a honnorable homme et saige Me Jehan Spens,[2] notre advocat fiscal au parlement et college de la cession et Justice de cedit Royaulme pour sur Icelles faire et dresser les articles sur Lesquelz estoit besoing Interoger et examiner les tesmoings cy apres nommez Lequel spens apres avoir veu et diligemment considere le contenu desdites lettres auroit dresse et redige par escript en langaige francois certains articles quil nous aurait depuys proposez et communiquez en la forme et maniere qui sensuyt Articles sur lesquelz sont

[1] Pierre de Grantrye, secretary to Mary Queen of Scots: see *F.C.E.*, i, nos, 665, 666, 1212, 1213.

[2] John Spens of Condie, Queen's Advocate.

a examiner tesmoings en vertu de La [131r] Commission du Xeme Jour de nouvembre Lan mil cinq cens cinquante neuf donnees (*sic*) par les roy et royne noz Souverains a Nobles et puissans seigneurs Messire Jacques de la brosse Sr. dudit lieu chevalier de l'ordre du roy chambellan et cappitaine de cinquante hommes [d] armes des ordonnances dudit Sr et henry cleutin chevalier Sr doysel et de ville-parisis lieutenant general dudit sr en ce royaulme descosse Contre James hammylton Conte daran aussi chevalier de l'ordre dudit Sr. et James hammylton son filz aisne

[Article] i

Premierement

Ledit Conte daran et son filz feirent convention et assemblee au moys de Septembre mil Vc cinquante neuf en la ville de hammylton Lors quil se commencoit abesongner a la fortiffication de la ville de petitlict [1] et plusieurs seigneurs personnaiges tenans benefices barons gentils hommes et aultres qui sestoient les premiers eslievez contre lauctorite [de la] Royne les temples et Iceulz spoliez desrobbes et pillez En laquelle convention Ilz escripvirent lettres a la royne regente en datte du XIXeme Jour dudit moys de septembre signees desdits conte son filz, et plusieurs aultres des principaulx de ceste assemblee par lesquelles Ilz disoient que la fortiffication quilz avoient entendu se faire a petitlict estoit contre le commun bien et liberte du royaulme [2] Et pource exhortoient ladite dame

[1] The name Petitlict for Leith is examined by T. G. Law in *Scottish Historical Series*, i, 19-26. The letter addressed to the Queen Regent is given in Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, 229-30, with the names of the signatories. Mary of Lorraine wrote to Francis II on 19 and 22 September, enclosing a translation of the letter she had received from the Congregation. She was convinced that the Congregation sought to place the government in the hands of Scotsmen and to remove the foreigners. She explained that, acting on the advice of the archbishop of St. Andrews, she had begun to fortify Leith. (See Archives, Foreign Office, Paris, *Mémoires et Documents, Angleterre*, rég. 15, ff. 37-40. Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 233, n. 1; *F.C.E.*, i, no. 1399. 29 September 1559. Sadler and Croft to Cecil.)

[2] See *F.C.E.*, i, no. 1365. 23 September. Balnaves to Sadler and Croft. 'This enterprise at Leith has much inflamed the people's heart against France, from which realm, he thinks, there will follow a plain defection for ever.'

de senabstenir et faire Incontinent cesser ladite fortiffication et envoyer hors de ce Royaulme les soldatz francois quelle y avoit, Ladvisant quilz rechercheroient le reste de la noblesse et communaute du royaulme pour [131v] y pourveoir et remedier.[1]

[Article] ii

Le dixieseme doctobre ensuyvant lesdits conte son filz leurs adherans et complices feirent une autre convention en armes en la ville de Strevelin [Stirling] et dela a lythguho [Linlithgow].[2] Et le XVIIIe dudit moys en la ville de dinbourg Jusques au nombre de six a sept mil hommes coupperent la porte du West de ladite ville et y entrerent par force[3] Et fut contrainete la royne regente se retirer en la ville de petit liet Auquel lieu Ilz lont tenue assiegee par lespace de vingt Jours.

[Article] iii

Les XIX, XX, et XXIemes Jours dudit moys lesdits conte son filz et leurs complices feirent conventions et conseil dheure a autre en ladite ville de dinbourg escripvirent une lettre a Ladite dame en datte du dixneufiesme Jour dudit moys signee desdits conte son filz et aultres de leur conseil par le Jeune sr de camot surnomme Metz [? Morton][4] Lequel fut envoye de la part dudit conte et de sesdits complices avecques Ladite lettre pour faire des sommations.[5] Et le XXIIIe ensuyvant en escripvirent une autre aladite dame par Lyon roy darmes qui avoit este

[1] The Lords of the Congregation had agreed to convene on 15 October and not part till they had accomplished their purpose. (See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 232.)

[2] See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 232; *F.C.E.*, ii, no. 20. 3 October. See also *Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine*, edited A. I. Cameron (Scottish History Society, 1927), nos. cclxxx, cclxxxi.

[3] See *F.C.E.*, ii, no. 130. 24 October. Sadler and Croft to Cecil; no. 234 (2). 10 November. 'Intelligence out of Scotland'; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 270. See below, pp. 100, 106, 109, 111, 112, 115, 119, 122, 123.

[4] There were Myretouns [Mortouns] at Cammo [Cambo]. See *R.M.S.*, i (1640-86), 1023 and *R.P.C.*, i, 381.

[5] See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 247-8.

envoye envers eulx de la part dicelle dame [1] par laquelle Ilz luy mandoient quilz avaient suspendu sa regence et que dedans XXIIII heures elle eust a vuyder ladite place avecques tous ses soldatz francois et gens de guerre estrangers Et que a faulte de ce Ilz estoient deliberez lassaillir et poursuyvre par armes Et a ceste fin feirent faire gabions eschelles provision de fascynes et aultres choses qui pourroient servir a leur entreprise.[2]

[Article] iiii

Les XXIIII XXV XXVI^mes et aultres Jours ensuyvans sortirent plusieurs foys de ladite ville de dinbourg vers celle de petitlict attacharent plusieurs escaramouches Et y en eut de blessez et [132^r] tuez dune part et dautre Tirerent flesches avecques escripteaulx dedans Ladite ville de petit lict pour Induyre les escossoys qui y estoient den sortir et se retirer avecques eulx disans ne chercher leur sang et par tous moyens et hostillitez a eulx possibles taschoient dendommaiger ceulx qui y estoient avecques la royne regente et entreprendre sur lauctorite.

[Article] v

Le [a] [a] Jour dudit moys feirent une proclamation a la croix du grand marche de ladite ville de dinbourg Lieu accoustume a faire les proclamations Et cryes publicques par Laquelle usurpans le nom des roy et royne noz souverains destituerent ladite dame de son auctorite et administration [3] avecques Inhibitions et defences a tous les subiectz de ce royaulme de luy obeyr ny la recongnoistre pour regente demectant les officiers commis par les roy et royne avecques Institution de nouveaulx a leur [b]poste[b] Laquelle proclamation Ilz ont depuys faicte par les provinces et aultres Lieulx du pays.

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[1] See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 249, n. i; cf. *F.C.E.*, ii, no. 109. 21 October. Credit sent by Robert Forman, Lyon King of Arms. See below, pp. 108, 109, for deposition by Forman.

[2] See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 249-56; Knox (ed. Laing), vi, 86-8. 23 October. Knox to Gregory Raylton. See also below, pp. 117, 118, deposition of Eglington and Robert Stewart, and pp. 111, 113, 121, 122.

[3] See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 255.

[a-a] blank. [b-b] above the line. *plasse* deleted.

[Articles] vi and vii

Le premier Jour de nouvembre sortirent dudit Edinbourg avecques deux pieces dartillerye montees sur roues quilz meirent dessus La montaigne de Cragingalt [1] qui est entre les villes dudit Edinbourg et petit lict et de la tirerent dedans ledit petit lict ou estoit assiegee Ladite dame royne regente sur lesquelz les francois feirent une sortye et gaignerent une couleuvrine de fer de fonte quilz meirent dans ledit petitlict Lautre piece fut rompue et demoura sur le champ et a ceste charge furent prins prisonniers le cappitaine mouet [132^{v}] qui avoit charge dune compaignye de leurs gens de pied soldoyez Et plusieurs aultres.[2] Durant ledit temps quilz estoient en ladite Ville de dinbourg feirent graver par Jacques Coky [3] orfevre demourant audit lieu ung signet contrefaict sur celluy des roy et royne noz souverains duquel signet Ilz ont scelle et soubz le nom desdits S^{r} et dame faulcement auctorise leurs pretendues loix et ordonnances tendantes a contraindre les subiectz de ce royaulme a se rebeller pour favoriser leur usurpation lesquelles ont este publiees en ladite ville de dinbourg sainct andre Glasglw dondy Lythguho Perth Cupre en fyff et aultres lieulx par les provinces et [a]villes[a] de ce royaulme.

[Article] viii

Item ont envoye plusieurs lettres soubz ledit signet aux seigneurs et peuple de ce royaulme et aussi aux estrangiers mandans au nom de noz souverains dobeyr audit conte daran avecques aultres Lettres signees de sa main Les uns portans mennaces et Intimidation a faulte de ce faire Les

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[1] See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 200, n. 5. 'Craginalt' was the name given to the Calton Hill.

[2] See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 259-61 ; *A Historie of the Estate of Scotland*, 70, 71 ; see below, pp. 101, 107.

[3] *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, x, 386, 438 (1551-1559), mention payments to Cokke (Cokkie), a goldsmith, for work on a clock and for engraving the Queen Regent's arms on a double falcon in 1559.

[a-a] above the line. *Lieulx* deleted.

aultres esperance faveur et recompence a ceulx qui le vouldroient suyvre.[1]

[Article] ix

Item durant ledit temps ont faict fabricquer et graver par le susdit Jacques Coky orfevre nouveaulx coings de monnoye et par proclamation publique defayre celles qui ont este fabricquees de Lordonnance de ladite dame avecques Libelles diffamatoires mis en avant soubz leur faveur support et commandement par gens dogmatisans prevenuz par Justice et mis a la roue Le tout tendant a sedition et desobeissance.

[Article] x

Item ont detenu prisonnier Jehan Patasonne Patric thomesonne heraultz Wiliame hardy Wiliame brisonne [133r] david ramsey [2] et aultres messaigers sergens poursuyvans et officiers darmes en executant les lettres et commandemens desdits sr et dame Mesmes audit lieu dedinbourg en la grand rue en plain marche ont despouille et oste la cotte darmes au premier herault nomme lyon [3] lequel Ladite dame y avoit envoye pour faire quelque proclamation.

[Article] xi

Item audit moys de nouvembre se sont saisiz de la personne de levesque de domblane [4] Lequel Ilz ont detenu

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[1] See *F.C.E.*, ii, no. 348. 29 November. Proclamation in the name of Francis and Mary issued by the Congregation ; no. 352. 30 November. John Wood to Randolph ; no. 421. 14 December. Proclamation in the name of Francis and Mary by the Lords of the Congregation ; no. 459. 20 December. Arran and Lord James to Sadler and Croft ; *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen* (1395-1570), i, 315-26. See also below, pp. 96, 97, 101, 117, 118.

[2] *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, x, *passim* (1551-1559), mention payments to John Paterson, Snowdon herald, Peter Thomson, Islay herald, William Hardy, messenger and pursuivant, William Bryson, macer and David Ramsay, messenger.

[3] Robert Forman, Ross herald and then Lyon King of Arms in succession to Sir David Lindsay (Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, ii, 404).

[4] William Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane, one of ' the chief pillars of the Papistical kirk ' according to Knox (*Hist. Ref.*, i, 335). Dowden (*Bishops of Scotland*, p. 207) gives no age. He died in 1564.

prisonnier par lespace dun moys Jusques a ce quil a este secouru par les forces du roy.

[Article] xii

Item ont volle au sortir de la ville de Barvik ung valet de chambre du roy nomme La marque qui venoit de la part dudit s^r^ D avecques pacquet devers La royne regente Lequel ledit conte detient prisonnier au chasteau de Dombertrand [DUMBARTON] [1] aussi ont destrousse plusieurs messaiges et lettres de ladite dame Et generallement tous ceulx quilz peuvent trouver mal accompaignez tenans le party dicelle dame pille et Ruyne les maisons et chasteaulx de faclan [FALKLAND] appartenans a noz souverains et crieton [CRICHTON] qui est au conte de Boithvil [BOTHWELL] Et de plusieurs aultres particuliers qui veullent demeurer obeissans subiectz et ne suyvre leur party, faict le gast et bruslement de plusieurs grains et victuailles pour mectre la famine entre les gens de guerre qui sont Icy pour le service du roy Couppe et rompu plusieurs pontz Le tout au detryment du bien et commodite publicque et Ruyne de beaulcoup de personnes [2] Et ce pendant continuent partout la degradation et eversion des lieux sainctz et monasteres de ce royaulme commences par leursdits complices [133^v^] Les sacrelieges apostasie [a]defection[a] publicque de la saincte et catholicque eglise universelle pour soubz ce pretexte et

[1] Considerable importance seems to have been attached to his coming. See *F.C.E.*, ii, nos. 488, 489, 490. 25 December. Francis II to Elizabeth, to the Queen Regent and to d'Oysel ; 572 (4). 10 January. Norfolk to Cecil ; 574. 12 January. Randolph to Croft ; 586. 17 January. Queen Dowager to La Marque ; 599. 20 January. La Marque to the Queen Dowager ; 604. 20 January. Norfolk, Croft and Sadler to Cecil ; 615. 21 January. Randolph to Sadler and Croft. A full account of the taking of La Marque is in the Archives of the Foreign Office, Paris, *Correspondance politique, Angleterre*, rég. 20, ff. 81^r^-85^v^. 'Audition sur la prinse du sieur de la Marque par les Ecossais.' See below, pp. 101, 102.

[2] John Cockburn of Ormiston returning from Berwick with a substantial sum of money was waylaid and set upon by Bothwell. When the news of this reached the Congregation Lord James and the earl of Arran went to Crichton Castle with about 200 horsemen and 100 footmen and two pieces of artillery. (See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 258 and n. 5, 259 ; *F.C.E.*, ii, no. 176. 2 November. Randolph to Sadler and Croft ; no. 183. 4 November. Balnaves to Sadler ; no. 234 (4, 5, 8). 10 November. 'Intelligence out of Scotland.') See also below, pp. 115, 116, deposition of Bothwell.

[a-a] added in another hand.

couleur usurper la couronne le nom et tiltre de roy luy et les siens. Ensuyt aussi La teneur des lettres missives mentionnees ausdits articles avecques leur translation et transcription.[1]

[138r] Superscription d'une autre Lettre

To my Lord Erle of Erroll [2]

My Lord efter our hartlie commendatioun your /L/ pleis be remembrit we writ to you afore of striveling makand mentioun quhow we war handlit and suppressit be strengeris and alreddy Invadit be fyre and sourde for the debating of the trew ministrie of goddis word and Libertie of this Realme quhilk as we may se is now tan effect In the maist crewell and ungodlie maneir by the [a]fortifeing[a] fortifeing of the principell port of this realme and Intendit to fortifie sainctandrois and hev in thair progres usit sic crewaltie on thame that gaif thame maist credit and war asseurit be thame that all uther may tak exempill and yit thmbris [intendis] no less nor to bring us gif god will permit thame to maist wyld slavery and boundage and to make plane conquest under ane cullorrit auctorite to the uter exterminatiouin of us and our posteritie and because we sa thame contenew In thir Iniust persecution and that our force is to small to resist thair tyrranie we thocht gude to seik support of our nycthbourys of Ingland quhilk thai have grantit us as may now be manifestlie seen be thair army that [b]have[b] is alreddy com be sea by thair land host that will merche at the day appoincted In sic numer as we find neccessarie to our reliefe and tothe effect that your L. nor no uther nobillman of this realme be sinistralie persuadit to belive that our said nycthbouris ar drawin In thir partis for ony uther occasion pactioun or promes bot only movit

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[1] See Knox (ed. Laing), i, 413-4, 437-8, 449-51, and Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 229-30, 247, 255-6. The translations into French have been omitted.

[2] George, 7th Earl. According to the *Scots Peerage*, iii, 568-9, Francis and Mary had constituted him their lieutenant in the north. He seems to have played no part in the troubles, but he was hereditary constable of Scotland. There may have been some hope of securing his influence or at any rate a desire to satisfy him as constable.

[a-a] deleted. [b-b] deleted.

of the zeill [a]thay[a] that have for debatt of goddis word and helping us out of sic thraldom and oppressioun We will assure yow be thes present In the contraris and sen this cause is commony to all nobilite of this realme quho baith of the Law of god and man aucht to debate the Libertie of the samyn We think now your /L/ will adione yow to us to assist thairto or nevir prayand your /L/ heirfor in this our maist affectuous maneir to advertise us of your mynd with this barar gif ye will assist to us nocht ffor we assure your /L/ this sal be our laist vricting to this effect [138v] Refarrandie [the] rest to your ansuer and Christ Illuminat your hart with his holie spreit At Glasgow, ye XXIIII of January 1559 yeiris [1]

Your luffing and assurit freindis
James
Arch[d] Ergill
glencairn
Rothes
Ruthwen
Josne of menteith
R. Boyd.

Lettres patentes en forme de passeport signees de James [139v] Hammylton filz aisne dudict conte daran et aultres ses complices.

Be It knowen to all men to quhoim It apparteynis We lordis of the counsale under wryttin to haif grantit fre passage and congie to thomas esling franche man and prysoneyr to resort and pass to the franche campe chargand and commandand all and sindry our soveranis lord and ladeis liegis of Scotland that Nayn of thaym molest nor trouble the said prisoneir in his passage under all hiest payn In Wytnes heyrof we haif subscrivit this present congie with our handys at dysart the XX of Januar 1559.

James hammyltone
James Stewart
Ruthwen
James halyburtoun

[1] i.e. 1559/60. [a-a] deleted.

Collation a este faicte aux originaulx desdites lettres et translation dicelles par nous M^e James macgill clerc des Registres Rolles [140^r] et conseil et Jehan bellanden clerc de Justice general descosse [1] soubz signez de lordonnance desdits sieurs de la brosse et de villeparisis.

La transcription desquelles lettres Inseree en ce present proces verbal a este collationnee aux originaulx et la teneur dicelles translatee en langaige francois ainsi quil est contenu cy dessus par honnorables hommes et saiges M^es James macgill clerc des registres rolles et conseil et Jehan bellanden clerc de Justice general de ce royaulme—desquelz avons faict prester le serment de bien et fidellement nous Interpreter tout le contenu desdites lettres missives que les deppositions daulcuns desdits tesmoings ne pouvans du tout exprimer leur dire en langue francoise. Ausquelz ont este proposez lesdictz articles Redigez par escript en langaige escossoys et Interpretez par lesdits macgill et bellenden pour la congnoissance et experience quilz ont de lune et lautre langue Lesquelz articles par nous veuz ont este adjournez les tesmoings cy apres nommez Qui auroient comparu par devant nous au pallais saincte croix de dinbourg y conduictz par ledit spens suyvant la commission a ceste fin par nous ordonnee et Illec apres serment par eulx faict de dire verite. Receuz ouyz et examinez es Jours et dattes contenuz en leurs dictz et deppositions pour Laquelle [a]Information[a] encommancer et parfaire avons nous pris et appelle avecques nous Pierre Paulet pour greffier notaire et adjoinct auquel apres avoir semblablement faict prester le serment de bien et fidellement rediger par escript Les dictz et deppositions desdits tesmoings avons nous procede a laudition et examen diceulx comme Il sensuyt.

Du Cinquiesme Jour du moys de februier
Lan mil V^c Cinquante neuf [1560]

Tresreverend pere en dieu Messire Jacques archevesque

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[1] Sir James McGill of Nether Rankeillor, and Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoull. See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, ii, *Index.*

[a-a] Above the line. *commission* deleted.

de glasgw [1] aage de trente huict ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne [140v] produict receu et sur le contenu es articles dessusditz ledit Jour Jure ouy et examine a dict et deppose mectant la main *ad pectus* par ses sainctes ordres et en foy de prelat Que du premier desdits articles que du premier Il est bien souvenant et memoratif que la royne regente sur linterpellation que luy faisait ledit conte par la lettre mentionnee audit article et avecques luy son filz aisne James hammylton et son autre filz Jehan hammylton commendataire d'arbrothe et aultres. Il eut commandement par ladite dame avecques aultres seigneurs du conseil prive desliberer sur la response de ladite lettre qui contenoit en somme que a faulte de laisser La fortiffication de petit lict Ilz rechercheroient et se plaindroient au reste de la noblesse et communaulte descosse pour y pourvoir et empescher ladite fortiffication et que par le dict conseil Il fut advise voyant la declaration que ledict conte faisait contre lauctorite du roy que lon envoyeroit vers Luy messire Robert Carnegy Chr Aynhart [? Kinnaird] et Me david brothvik [2] parce quilz se mesloient des affaires dudict conte et de son conseil pour les faire retourner a lobeissance et nestre rebelle. Lesquelz a leur retour feirent Rapport que ledit conte persistoit a sadict Lettre Laquelle estant exhibee audit Sr Archevesque a Recongneu le seing dudict conte daran nagueres gouverneur descosse de son filz aisne et aultres leurs complices et adherans.

Quant au second article sur larmee dudict conte et assiegement faict a la royne regente dict et deppose quil partit avecques Ladicte dame du palais saincte croix et estant a mychemin de petitlict avecques lescorte que Ladicte dame avoit pour se faire conduyre veid arryver les

[1] James Beaton [II], son of an elder brother of cardinal Beaton, provided to Glasgow, 1551. See J. Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 350, where his age is given as ' in his twenty-seventh year or thereabout ' in 1551.

[2] *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, x, *passim*, mention payment of expenses in the Queen's service to Sir Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird. David Borthwick, auditor, received payments and signed accounts. See also Knox., *Hist. Ref.*, i, 230 : ' . . . To this request she would not answer by writing, but with a letter of credit she sent Sir Robert Carnegie and Master David Borthwick.' See also *A Historie of the Estate of Scotland*, 68, ' . . . The Queen sent to them Sir Robert Carnegie with others. . . .'

forces dudict conte et ses complices Et fut tousiours audict lieu de petit lict durant le siege qui fut denviron vingt Jours.

Sur le IIIme article Luy a este representee la lettre qui fut envoyee par ledict conte son filz et complices par le jeune sr de Camot [1] surnomme Mortonn dont Il a Recongneu les seings dudict conte daran son filz aisne et aultres leurs complices. Et dict quil estoit present quant elle fut apportee a la royne regente ou estoient plusieurs seigneurs Que La royne feit responce quelle sesbaissoit que luy qui estoit subiect se faisoit porteur dune [141r] telle lettre Et fut baillee [*sic*] en garde au sr de sarlabus maistre de camp Et parcequil ne fut renvoye presentement vers ledict conte daran Il envoya ung trompette Ainsi que ledict sr archevesque entendit Et quil fut rapporte a la royne luy present pour faire entendre a ladicte dame que si on ne luy renvoyoit ledict gentilhomme sur lheure Il y pourvoyroit bien avecques beaulcoup daultres parolles arrogantes. Ladicte dame le lendemain envoya ledict camot sans autre responce Et tost apres depescha Lyon Roy darmes pour faire advertir Ledict conte et aultres seigneurs tant en particulier que par proclamation de laisser les armes et Recongnoistre les roy et royne Leurs souverains Ledict herault feit son rapport quil avoit este despouille de sa cotte darmes Et que apres avoir dict ledict commandement quil avoit de la royne quil fut arreste Et quelque temps apres Ilz le renvoyerent avecques responce par une lettre signee dudict conte daran et ses complices en datte du XXIIIe doctobre. Laquelle a este recongneue par ledict sr archevesque Contenant La destitution de la regence et administration.

Sur le IIIIe dict que par plusieurs foys Il a veu ceulx qui durant ledict siege estoient en la ville de dinbourg venir attacher escarmouches avecques ceulx de petitlict Quil a veu des escripteaulx attachez a des flesches qui avoient este tireez la nuyt dedans ledict petitlict persuasifz aux soldatz escossois et aultres de se retirer avecques La congregation.

[1] On folio 131v the surname is Metz (?Morton). See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 247, 248. 'These our letters received, our messenger was threatened and withheld a whole day. Thereafter he was dismissed without any other answer."

Sur le V^me^ qu'au temps que se feit la proclamation y mentionnee Il estoit en ladicte ville de petitlict Et quil est notoire et commung a ung chascun quelle a este faicte.

Sur le VI^me^ dict quentre aultres sorties que feirent ceulx de la congregation hors de ladicte ville de dinbourg contre celle de petitlict le Jour de toussainctz Ilz amenerent deux pieces dartillerye sur la montaigne de Cragingalt dont Ilz tirerent quelques coups dedans petitlict ou estoyt la royne regente assiegee et continuerent Jusques ace que les francois les Repoulserent amenerent une desdictes pieces audict petitlict Lautre demoura [141^v^] Rompue sur le champ Et furent pris prisonnier patrice mouet capitaine dune bande de gens de pied soldoyez ung nomme M^e^ charles geddes et aultres Et le scait pour lavoir veu.

Sur le VIII^me^ dict avoir veu plusieurs lettres envoyees par le dict conte et ses complices a plusieurs seigneurs dece Royaulme persuasives de se Joindre avecques eulx et prendre leur party Et luy en estant exhibee une du XXIIII^me^ Jour de Janvier—escripte au conte derrol [1] a Recongneu les seings dudict conte et aultres ses complices pour les avoir veuz plusieurs foys signer Quelques aultres contenans menasses a faulte de ce faire Le tout tendant a Rebellion et desobeissance a lauctorite.

Sur le IX^me^ que peu de Jours apres ledict siege Il veid des nouveaulx coings qui furent mis entre les mains de la royne regente par Jacques coky orfevre, lesquelz Il disoit avoir faictz durant le temps dudict siege par commandement dudict conte et ses complices Et quil avoit este a ce contrainct par eulx.

Sur le X^me^ a dict avoir entendu les emprisonnemens desdictz heraultz et messaigiers par leurs Rapportz.

Sur le XI^me^ quil a ouy dire a levesque de domblaine depuys sa liberte comme Il avoit este detenu et traicte Et que cest chose notoire et publicque.

Sur le XII^me^ dict avoir entendu que la marque a este pris avecques ung pacquet des Roy et royne noz souverains au deca de Barrvik [Berwick] par ung nomme Jehan hammylton, massier, serviteur dudict conte daran Icelluy avoir este

[1] See above, pp. 96, 97.

mene a glasgw devers ledict Conte et depuys au chasteau de Dombertrand [Dumbarton] ou Il est encores detenu prisonnier.

Dict aussi avoir entendu Les destroussemens faictz a plusieurs aultres serviteurs de la royne regente par leurs Rapportz mesmes que depuys que ledict conte cest (*sic*) declaire par sadicte lettre escripte a hammylton du XIX^me^ septembre et quil a pris ouvertement les armes contre la royne regente et autorite luy et sesdicts complices ont continue La degradation et eversion de plusieurs temples et monasteres, profane toutes choses Cest (*sic*) le dict conte saisi [142^r^] de la maison de son archevesche de glasgw [1] dont Il leve et prend les fermetz [2] et en dispose comme bon luy semble en sorte que depuys la feste de penthecoste [3] derniere ledict S^r^ archevesque nen a eue aulcune Jouissance luy ny les siens ayant ledict conte chasse par plusieurs foys ses gens dehors faict chercher par diverses maisons circonvoisines les biens dudict S^r^ archevesque et de ses serviteurs et familiers Jusques a forcer lesdites maisons Rompre les coffres et faire aultres Insolences et voyes de faict pour veoir sil y avoit aulcune chose appartenant audict S^r^ archevesque faict le pis qu'il peubt a tous ceulz qui sont obeissans subiectz du roy et royne de quelque estat et qualite quilz soient et qui ne veullent adherer a son party Et que soubz pretexte de vouloir changer la religion et en Instituer une nouvelle en ce royaulme Il use de tous actes dhostilite taschant comme Il est a penser de usurper la couronne Le nom et titre de roy luy et les siens par sacri-

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[1] See *Charters . . . relating to the City of Glasgow*, i (2), (1175-1649) 125-6, no. LVI. 'Band of Maintenance by James, Duke of Chatelherault, to the Archbishop and Chapter of Glasgow, undertaking to protect the see in all its rights and privileges.' Edinburgh, 6 February 1557/8. '. . . havand consideratioune of this perillous and dangerous tyme, quhair detestabil heresies ryses and increasis in the diocy of Glasgow, beand of gud mynde and purpos God willing to repress thaim eftir our power, and thairfor to be bundin and obliged . . . to mantayne, supplye and fortifie . . . sall defend him and tham thair privilegis and thair kirk . . . thair landis, servandis . . . aganis quhatsumevir person or personis within this realme except the Queenis grace presentlie or Kingis grace authorities for the time allanerlie . . . and sall not throll the said fader . . . to be put doun wrangit injurit nor molestit. . . .'

[2] See Godfroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française, sub voce.*

[3] Whitsunday 14 May.

leges apostasie et defaction publicque de la saincte et catholicque eglise.

Dudict Jour

Tresreverend pere en dieu messire Williame evesque de domblaine age de soixante ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne et sur le contenue es articles susdits ledict Jour Jure ouy et examine mectant la main *ad pectus* par ses sainctes ordres et en foi de prelat dict et deppose quant aux I, II, III, IIII, V et VI^mes^ articles quil a entendu le contenu en Iceulx par gens de bien dignes de foy et que ce sont choses notoires et congneues par tout ce royaulme.

Sur le VII^me^ quil a veu le S^r^ de byers [1] qui est ung gentilhomme de la congregation et complice dudict conte qui avoit ung signet contrefaict sur celluy des roy et royne noz souverains Lequel byers disoit que estoit pour sceller des lettres et commandemens au nom de nosdicts souverains par lordonnance dudit conte et de son conseil Et quil a [142^v^] entendu de plusieurs quilz ont faict publyer beaulcoup de lettres et ordonnances en divers endroictz du Royaulme.

Sur le XI^e^ article Dict que le XI^me^ Jour de nouvembre dernier [2] James hammylton fils aisne dudict conte daran par le commandement et advis de son pere vint avecques quatre cens hommes en armes ou environ en la maison de son evesche de dumblane le preit prisonnier et mena en la ville de sterveling et Incontinent apres en une maison du conte dargill nomme castel campbell ou Il demura en estroicte prison Jusques au Jour de noel ensuyvant durant lequel temps Ilz lont contrainct de fournir a la despence de toute Ladite maison ses gardes et aultres Et est demoure en leurs mains Jusques ace quil a este delivre par le moyen des roy et royne noz souverains.

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[1] Patrick Lindsay, son of John, fifth Lord Lindsay of the Byres, as Master of Lindsay was an ardent Reformer. See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, ii, *Index*.

[2] See *F.C.E.*, ii, no. 237. 11 November. Randolph to Sadler and Croft. '. . . The same day the Lords sent to take the Bishop of Dunblane, an open adversary to their proceedings, whom they will make to pay well, for that he is rich.'

Quant au XII^me^ Ce sont choses notoires congneues et publicques par tout ce Royaulme.

Dudict Jour

Alexandre Erskyn [1] seigneur de Cagnor [Gogar] age de trente six ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne produict receu ouy apres serment par luy faict de dire verite sur les sainctes evangilles ouy et examine, sur le premier desdits articles Dict et deppose avoir este present quant la lettre du XIX^e^ Jour du moys de septembre escripte ala royne par ledict conte daran et ses complices fut presentee a la dicte dame Quil est bien souvenant et memoratif du contenu en Icelle lettre en la mesme sorte quil est mentionne audict article.

Sur le second Dict que lors que ladicte dame partit du palais saincte croix de dinbourg pour se retirer a petitlict Il estoit en la compaignye Et questant a mychemin lon veid venir larmee dudit conte et ses complices.

Sur le IIII^e^ Dict que luy estant au chasteau de dinbourg [143^r^] Il a par plusieurs foys veu sortir de Ladicte ville dedinbourg des gens de guerre qui alloient escaramoucher avecques ceulx de petitlict ou la royne regente estoit assiegee.

Sur le V^me^ Dict navoir ouy les proclamations y mentionnees mais que Il a entendu de plusieurs gens de bien quelles ont este faictes Et que ce sont choses publicques et notoires.

Sur le VI^me^ Dict que le premier Jour de nouvembre Il fut mene quelques pieces dartillerye par ceulx de la congregation sur la montaigne de Cragingalt Et dicelles a veu tirer dedans La ville de petitlict ou Ladicte dame estoit assiegee Luy estant au chasteau dedinbourg.

Sur le X^me^ Quil a entendu des heraultz et messaigiers darmes y mentionnez et aultres serviteurs de la royne regente quilz avoient este emprisonnez executans les commandemens de Ladicte dame.

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[1] Sir Alexander Erskine, fourth son of John, fifth Lord Erskine, and brother of John, sixth Lord Erskine and Earl of Mar. *Scots Peerage*, v. 81, says ' born about 1521.' ' About 36 ' would mean born about 1523. He is called Cangnoir in *R.M.S.* (1546-1580), 230. 24 January 1555/6.

Sur le XI^me^ Dict que lemprisonnement et detentues de La personne de levesque de dumblane est assez congneu par tout escosse.

Du ———— sixiesme dudict moys

Tresreverend pere en dieu Messire patrice evesque de murray [1] age de cinquante huict ans ou environ Tesmoing adjourne produict receu Et apres serment par Luy faict de dire verite par ses sainctes ordres mectant la main *ad pectus* ouy et examine Sur les premier II, III, IIII, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, et XI^mes^ desdicts articles Dict que parce quil ne sest trouve present Il nen scait sinon par la commune renommee Mais quant au XII^e^ Cest chose notoire evidente et publicque que le dict conte [143^v^] daran est au Jourdhuy le chef de Lassemblee des Rebelles qui se sont nommes la congregation. Lesquelz auparavant que Ledict conte fut en leur assemblee Et quil se fust ouvertement declaire de leur faction avoient ruyne et brusle son abbaye de scon [Scone] Que ne se pourroit Rediffier pour cent mil escus par estimation ny estant demoure en la plus grande part que ce que le feu na peu consommer Que ledict conte daran et les siens suyvans Les arres desdictz rebelles continuent Leversion des Lieulx sainctz temples et monasteres Le changement de la religion apostasie et defaction publicque de la saincte foy catholicque par Inductions persuasions et forces Que tous ceulx qui sont au Jourdhuy obeissans subiectz et ne veullent prendre le party dudict Conte et ses complices sont oppressez par tous moyens a eulx possibles Et que a ceste occasion Il depposait pour rendre le service et obeissance quil est tenu aux roy et royne ses souverains Et pour estre en seurete de sa personne et eviter la rage et furye des Rebelles Il sest retire pres la royne regente Et ce pendant void et entend tous les Jours comment Ilz sefforcent continuer de mal en pis laccomplissement de leur mauvaise volunte de contraindre et opprimer par toutes voyes

[1] Patrick Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, was provided to the see of Moray in 1538. He held the Monastery of Scone *in commendam*. He died in 1573. (Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 171-2.)

Inicques les bons subiectz de ce royaulme Et satribuent le revenu de tous les benefices chassans les legitimes possesseurs Introduysans en leur lieu les gens mal sentans de la religion de long temps condamnez par Justice.

Dudict Jour

Tresreverend pere en dieu Messire Robert evesque de dunkel[1] aage de soixante ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne produict receu Et apres serment par luy faict de dire verite par ses sainctes ordres manuellement La main *ad pectus* [144r] et en foy de prelat ouy et examine sur le premier desdicts articles Dict et deppose navoir este present avecques La royne quand La lettre y mentionnee fut apportee de la part du Conte daran et ses complices Mais quil a entendu tout le contenu audict article par les seigneurs qui lors estoient au conseil.

Sur le second Dict quil estoit pres de la royne regente quant elle partit du palais saincte croix dedinbourg pour se retirer a petitlict Et questans en [a] [a] chemin se veirent les forces dudict conte qui arryverent en ladite ville dedinbourg.

Sur le IIIe Dict estre bien souvenant et memoratif du contenu en la lettre que le Jeune Sr de Camot apporta a la royne audict petitlict de la part desdicts conte et ses complices Laquelle luy estant representee Il abien Recongneu et quelle estoit signee dudict conte Quil estoit en la chambre de la royne Lors que Ladicte lettre fut presentee par ledict camot Auquel Ladicte dame dict quelle sesmerveilloit que luy qui estoit subiect avoit oze entreprendre de porter telle lettre Et parce quil ne fut soubdainement renvoye Il vint ung trompette ainsi quil a entendu de la part dudict conte pour le demander avecques grosses parolles et arrogantes Que le lendemain luy fut donne conge

[1] Robert Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, 1554, one of 'the chief pillars of the Papistical Kirk' (Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 335). He was still alive in 1581 in 'old age and extreme poverty.' (Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, 91-4.)

[a-a] *my* omitted.

de sen retourner Et peu apres Ladicte dame envoya Lyon roy darmes pour admonnester Ledict conte et aultres seigneurs de Laisser les armes et recongnoistre Leurs souverains. Ledict herault comme ouyt ledict depposant rapporta quil avoit este despouille de sa cotte darmes et arreste pour quelque temps Puys le renvoyerent avecques une Lettre contenant la destitution ou suspension de la regence et administration de la royne regente et sommation de sortir de Ladicte ville de petitlict dedans vingtquatre heures de tems. Laquelle lettre Luy a este aussi exhibee et a Recongneu le seing dudict conte daran Lequel Il a veu plusieurs foys signer.

[144v] Sur le IIIIme Dict quil s'est faict plusieurs escaramouches durant le temps dudict siege qui a este denviron vingt Jours entre les villes de Edinbourg et petit lict Que de nuyt Il fut tire des escripteaulx attachez a des flesches audict petitlict qui estoient afin de persuader aux soldatz escossoys et aultres qui y estoient avecques Ladite dame den sortir et se Rendre du party de la congregation.

Sur le Vme que lors que la proclamation y mentionnee se feit Il nestoit a petit lict Maiz que cest chose tenue pour notoire et publicque.

Sur le VIme Dict que le Jour de toussainctz Il fut amene quelques pieces dartillerie sur la montaigne de Cragingalt desquelles ceulx de la congregation tirerent plusieurs coups dedans petitlict Que lesdites pieces furent gaignees par les francois qui sortirent dessus dont Lune fut mise dans ledict petitlict une autre fut rompue sur le champ Et y eut prisonnier Patrice mouet capitaine dune bande de gens de pied Me charles geddes et aultres. Et le scait pour Lavoir veu estant audict petitlict aupres de la royne regente.

Sur Les VII VIII IX X et XImes articles Dict avoir entendu les emprisonnemens de Levesque de domblane des heraultz et officiers darmes par leurs Rapportz mesmes Et tant de ce que des aultres choses contenues en lesdits articles La commune renommee est telle par tout ce Royaulme.

Sur le XIIme Dict quil a entendu que depuys nagueres

ceulx de Ladite congregation qui sont les Rebelles ont faict le gast de plusieurs victuailles et grains devant Larmee des roy et Royne nos souverains couppe et rompu quelques pontz Que est chose qui se veoit dun chacun Que ledict conte et son filz sont aujourdhuy Les principaulx de toute la sedition et entreprise continuans par tout La demolition des eglises et monasteres dont Il en a veu plusieurs abbatuz et Ruynez Comme Labbaye de scon [Scone] Le chartreuze et plusieurs des eglises et temples de son diocese profanent toutes choses preignent Les fruictz et Revenuz des benefices et [145r] Lapplicquent a leur proffict et contraignent Les subiectz des roy et de la royne par exactions et contributions. Et font dogmatiser gens condamnez par Justice Qui excitent le peuple a commotion Toutes lesquelles choses se voyent Journellement et sont congneuees par tout Escosse.

Dudict Jour

Messire Robert forman chevalier lyon roy darmes aage de soixante troys ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne produict receu et apres serment par luy faict de dire verite sur les sainctes evangilles ouy et examine sur le premier desdits articles Dict et deppose avoir entendu de plusieurs quil se faisoit une convention a hammylton Que au moys doctobre dernier Il receut de la main de La royne une coppie de la lettre mentionnee audict article Et veid Loriginal mesmes Lequel Luy estant represente Il a Recongneu estre signe dudict conte pour lavoir veu plusieurs foys signer. Et dict luy avoir este baillee ladicte coppie quant Il fut envoye de petitlict vers la congregation affin destre myeulx Instruict de ce quil avoit a dire audict conte daran et aultres seigneurs ses complices.

Sur le second article Dict avoir veu ledict conte arriver en La ville de dinbourg avecques le nombre de plus de quatre mil hommes en armes et de la se retira ledict depposant en la ville de petitlict pour faire service a la royne regente.

Sur le IIIe Quil estoit present quant le Jeune Camot

presenta une Lettre a ladicte dame de la part du conte daran et aultres ses complices Quil est bien souvenant et memoratif du contenu en ladite lettre quil a veue et leue et Luy estant exhibee en a Recongneu les seignz. Que tost apres la reception de Ladicte Lettre Il fut envoye par la royne regente en la ville dedinbourg [145v] devers lesdicts conte daran et aultres ses complices vestu de sa cotte darmes Quil trouva Ledict conte son filz aisne et aultres seigneurs assemblez attendans la responce de la lettre par eulx envoyee a la royne par ledict Camot Ausquelz Il commanda de Laisser les armes se retirer en leurs maisons et faire le debvoir de bons subiectz avecques quelques aultres commandemens que Luy avoient este baillez par escript Ce quilz Refuserent faire.

Sur Le IIIIe Dict avoir veu les escaramouches les hommes blessez et les escripteaulx qui furent tirez dedans petitlict.

Sur Le Vme Que ledict conte daran James hammylton son filz aisne et aultres leurs complices estans assemblez en conseil signifferent audict depposant quilz avoient delibere de suspendre La commission et pouvoir donne par noz souverains a la royne regente Et que depuys Il a entendu de plusieurs que Ladicte suspension a este proclamee en la ville de dinbourg et aultres Lieulx de ce royaulme Dict aussi Ledict depposant que Ledict Conte son filz aisne et complices luy feirent entendre que non seullement Ilz suspendoient la regente mais defendoient a tous officiers et signamment aux heraultz et a luy de ne plus obeyr a ladicte dame et ne venir vers eulx de sa part portans charges ou commandemens Et que ledict conte daran prenant la parolle Luy dict que sil revenoit vers eulx de La part de Ladicte dame que ce fust comme gentilhomme prive sans cotte darmes pour les particuliers offices dicelle dame et non aultrement Ou ce seroit a ses perilz et fortunes.

Sur le VIme Dict avoir este present au contenu dudict article veu tirer de la montaigne de Cragingalt dans petit lict ou estoit La royne regente assiegee amener une piece de fer de fonte dans ledict petitlict Et quelques prisonniers Et que ce fut le Jour de toussainctz.

Sur le X^me^ Dict que Jehan patrisonne snowdon herault [146^r^] fut pris en la ville de perth par les prevost et baillifz dicelle complices dudict conte pierre thomson ylay herault en la ville de glasgw par les serviteurs dudict conte Williame hardy unycorne poursuyvant fut pris en la ville de Cuper en fyff. Et fut mene Jusques au chasteau de sainct andre ou lors estoit James hammylton filz aisne dudict Conte Et le prieur de sainct andre William bryssone massier et david Ramsay messaiger darmes furent pris a dondy Le scait parce que tous les dessus dict a leur retour se sont adressez a luy pour le prier leur estre aydant a trouver remede des tortz et Injures a eulx faictz Lesquelz luy ont rapporte par serment avoir este emprisonnez et detenuz faisans leurs offices et mectant a execution les lettres et commandemens des Roy et royne noz souverains Desquelles lettres ayans este spoliez et de ce quilz estoient saisiz avoient este renvoyez Et quant audict depposant dict quil est vray questant alle devers ledict Conte daran son filz aisne et leurs complices avecques sa cotte darmes par le commandement de La royne regente Ilz luy feirent despouiller Le requerant de Loster Ce quil fut contrainct faire Luy mesmes pour esviter plus grand Inconvenient.

Du————septiesme Jour dudict moys

James carmichel bourgeoys de la ville dedinbourg age de quarante huict ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne produict receu et apres serment sur les sainctes evangilles par luy faict de dire verite ouy et examine sur le premier desdicts articles Dict et deppose quil a entendu de plusieurs que lesdictes conventions ont este faictes Et que la lettre y mentionnee a este envoyee a la royne et le tient pour chose notoire et commune a tous.

[146^v^] Sur le second Dict quayant entendu la venue dudict Conte daran et ses complices en armes en la ville dedinbourg Il en partit deux Jours devant leur arrivee Et ny retourna Jusques a ce quilz en furent hors Mais quil a entendu par gens de bien dignes de foy le contenu audict article Et est chose commune et publicque.

Dudict Jour

Jean patrysonne snawdon herault age de quarente six ans ou environ termoing adjourne produict receu et apres serment par luy faict sur les sainctes evangilles de dire verite ouy et examine sur le second desdicts articles Dict et deppose quil se retira en la ville de petitlict avecques la royne regente ou elle a demoure assiegee par lespace de vingt Jours. Quil est bien certain de la venue de ceulx que lon appelle la congregation en la ville de dinbourg et que aulcuns deulx estoient Logez en son Logis Et pource quil avoit suyvy Ladicte dame et estoit a son service luy prindrent et Ravirent son bien.

Sur le III^me^ Dict quil estoit present quant le Jeune s^r^ de Camot apporta la lettre y mentionnee a la royne regente Quil entendit la teneur dicelle ainsi quil est articule Et quant a la fabrication des gabions eschelles et fascynes dict les avoir veuz et parle aux ouvriers qui les ont faictz lesquelz luy ont declaire que cestoit pour la congregation.

Sur Le IIII^me^ Dict avoir veu plusieurs escaramouches durant le temps dudict siege et y en avoir eu de blessez et tuez dune part et dautre.

Sur la V^me^ Dict quil a entendu le contenu de plusieurs personnes dignes de foy et que ce sont choses notoires et communes.

Sur le VI^me^ Dict quil a veu tirer les pieces y mentionnees dedans la ville de petitlict ou estoit ladicte dame assiegee qu' ne fut [147^r^] demeure audict petitlict Et plusieurs prisonniers.

Sur le X^me^ Que au moys de decembre dernier passe Il fut envoye avecques lettres de la royne regente en villes de perth dondy et montros pour faire defence aux habitans dicelle de ne favoriser recueillir ny loger les Rebelles qui sapellent La congregation. Quapres les avoir publiees en ladite ville de perth Il fut constitue prisonnier par les baillifz et officiers de ladite ville ou Il fut detenu par lespace de quatre Jours et Layant spolie desdictes Lettres le laisserent aller Et quant a lemprisonnement des aultres officiers contenu audict article Il le tient pour certain

layant ainsi entendu deulx Et que cest chose publicque et connue.

Dudict Jour

Alexandre Ros Ros herault [1] aage de quarente huict ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne produict et receu et apres serment par Luy faict sur les sainctes evangilles de dire verite ouy et examine sur le second article Dict et deppose que a la venue dudict conte daran et ses complices en la ville dedinbourg Il se retira a petitlict pour faire service a la royne regente ou Il a demoure durant le siege qui a este de vingt Jours ou environ.

Sur le III^me^ Dict quil estoit present quant la lettre y mentionnee fut apportee a la royne par le Jeune s^r^ de Camot Et entendit le contenu dicelle qui estoit affin de faire sortir les estrangiers et soldatz hors la ville de petit lict et aultres Requisitions haultaines et arrogantes.

Sur le IIII^me^ Quil a veu ce (*sic*) faire durant ledict siege plusieurs escaramouches Et y en a eu de blessez et tuez dune part et dautre.

Sur le VI^me^ Que le Jour de toussainctz ceulx de la congregation meirent deux pieces dartillerye sur la montaigne de Cragingalt dont Ilz tirerent beaulcoup de coups dedans la ville de petitlict ou estoit la royne regente assiegee Quil a veu amener une grande couleuvine de fer de fonte dans ledict petitlict et plusieurs prisonniers.

[147^v^] Sur le X^me^ Dict que durant le temps de lemprisonnement des heraultz et officiers darmes y mentionnez Il estoit en angleterre envoye par ladicte dame Et qua son retour Il a entendu deulx leurdict emprisonnement Et quant au roy darmes dict quil estoit avecques luy au moys de Juing dernier passe en la ville de dinbourg quant les seigneurs de la congregation qui sont les principaulx et conducteurs des Rebelles dont le conte daran est maintenant le chef et premier. Requirent ledict lyon roy darmes de despouiller sa cotte Ce quil fut contrainct faire.

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[1] *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, x, *passim* (1551-1559) mention payments to Alexander Ross, Ross herald.

Dudict Jour

Richard gray bourgeois de la ville dedinbourg age de soixante troys ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne produict receu et apres serment par luy faict sur les sainctes evangilles touchees de dire verite ouy et examine Sur le second desdicts articles dict et deppose le contenu en Icelle estre veritable et avoir este present en ladicte ville a larivee dudict conte daran son filz aisne et aultres leurs complices en armes.

Sur le IIIme Dict que les premiers Jours apres leur arrivee audict edinbourg Ilz feirent plusieurs conventions et conseil mais quant aux affaires dont Ilz traicterent Il nen scait Riens. Bien a Il entendu quun gentilhomme fut envoye devers la royne avecques lettres dudict conte son filz aisne et aultres de leur conseil et assemblee Quil a veu plusieurs eschelles gabyons fascynes et aultres preparatifz quilz disoient estre pour assaillir le petitlict ou estoit la royne regente assiegee.

Sur le IIIIme Dict questant quelque fois monte sur la montaigne de Cragingalt Il a veu plusieurs escaramouches entre de ceulx qui estoient venuz avecques ledict conte et les soldatz du Roy Et quil estime quil y en a eu de blessez et de mortz.

Sur le Vme Quil estoit present sur la grand Rue dedinbourg quant Il fut faict une proclamation au nom des Roy et Royne nos souverains par laquelle estoit suspendu la regence et administration de la royne [148r] regente avecques defence a tous de ne luy plus obeyr ny la congnoistre pour legitime magistrat.

Sur le VIme Dict quil a veu sortir lartillerye de ladicte ville de dinbourg Icelle tirer contre le petitlict ou estoit la royne Regente assiegee dont une piece fut gaignee par les francoys et mise dans Ledict petitlict Lautre demoura Rompue sur le chemin ou elle est encor de present.

Dudict Jour

Guillaume Brysonne massier aage de trente ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne produict receu et apres serment

par luy faict sur les sainctes evangilles de dire verite ouy et examine sur le premier article Dict et deppose avoir este present en la chambre de la royne quant la lettre articullee fut presentee a ladicte dame Et a entendu la teneur dicelle Laquelle Luy estant exhibee Il a Recongneue.

Sur le IIIme Dict quil estoit present quant le Jeune Camot apporta une lettre en datte du XIXe octobre a la royne regente de la part dudict conte daran son filz et aultres seigneurs de la congregation dont Il entendit le contenu veid lors ladicte lettre et luy estant [a]exhibee[a] representee La recongneue signee dudict conte son filz et aultres de leur faction.

Sur le Xme questant envoye par la royne regente pour executer certaines lettres et commandemens de noz souverains en la ville de dondy Il fut pris et constitue prisonnier par les officiers de ladicte ville et Illec detenu par lespace de dixneuf Jours Que le prevost de ladicte ville nomme Jacques halyburton Lun des complices dudict conte daran Luy osta ses Lettres et ledict depposant trouvant la commodite de se saulver eschappa de leurs mains Et quant a lemprisonnement et detention des aultres officiers darmes croy Indubitablement les articles pour Lavoir ainsi entendu deulx. Quil estoit present en la ville dedinbourg au moys de Juing dernier quant lyon Roy darmes fut contrainct despouiller sa cotte a la requisition daulcuns seigneurs de la congregation maintenant complices dudict conte daran.

Dudict Jour

[148v] Guillaume Car [1] Receveur des coustumes de la ville de dinbourg age de quarente deux ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne produict receu et apres serment par luy faict sur les sainctes evangilles de dire verite ouy et examine Sur le premier article Dict et deppose quil estoit en la chambre de la royne quand la lettre articulee fut receue Delaquelle Il entendit le contenu et luy estant representee

[1] *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, x, 394, mention William Ker, collector of customs in Edinburgh.

[a-a] deleted.

La Recongneue et quant a leurs conventions que ce sont choses notoires et communes par tout ce royaulme.

Sur le IIme quil estoit en ladite ville dedinbourg lors que ledict conte et ses complices y arriverent en armes qual-entree Ilz coupperent la porte du wast et estoit ledict depposant baillif de ladicte ville [1] Lequel ne voulant obeyr [a]de son office de baillif[a] a leurs commandemens et estre leur ministre fut par eulx deppose de son office de baillif Et en sa place en constituerent ung autre tel que bon leur sembla.

Sur le IIIme Dict que quant ladite lettre fut envoyee a la royne par le Jeune Camot de la part dudict conte et ses complices Il sestoit retire en une maison pres ladicte ville de dinbourg nommee edmynston [2] ou Il fut apporte la coppie de ladicte lettre estant bien souvenant et memoratif que le contenu de [la] coppie estoit ainsi que Il est articule.

Du————VIIIme Jour dudict moys

James Conte de Boithuil [3] Lord hollys et chreichton et Lidisdel grant admiral descosse et lieutenant des marches orientalles et du mylieu age de vingt quatre ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne produict receu et apres serment par luy faict de dire verite sur les sainctes evangilles ouy et examine sur le premier desdicts articles Dict et deppose avoir entendu de plusieurs que Il se faisoit quelques conventions en la ville de hamylton Et quant a la lettre articulee La veue et est bien souvenant du contenu en Icelle.

Sur le second a ouy dire quilz ont faict convention a striveling de la a lythquho Et quil les a veuz venir en armes en la ville de dinbourg le XVIIIme Jour doctobre ayant par les commandemens de La royne regente este les recong-

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[1] He is not given as a bailie in the list of officers in *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, iv, 301, but he was a bailie in 1557 (cf. iv, i).

[2] Edmonstone, about three miles south-east of Edinburgh.

[3] James Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell, subsequently Duke of Orkney and third husband of Mary Queen of Scots. *Scots Peerage*, ii, 161, says : ' Probably born in or before 1535.'

[a-a] deleted.

noistre apres quil eut [149r] conduict ladite dame Jusques en la ville de petitlict ou elle fut contraincte se retirer et y demoura assiegee par lespace de vingt jours durant Lequel temps ledict Sr depposant tenoit les champs avecques ses forces et amys, a plusieurs foys escript a la dicte dame et Receu lettres de sa maieste a faict Invasions et plusieurs escaramouches pour demonter les forces dudict conte daran et ses complices qui tenoient ladicte dame assiegee avecques plusieurs serviteurs et officiers des Roy et royne noz souverains Et en ces entrefaictes le dernier Jour doctobre dernier ledict depposant preit ung gentilhomme nomme Jehan Cocburne seigneur dormiston et aultres ses serviteurs venant de barvik avecques une somme dargent montant environ troys mil escus soleil Quil apporta dudict barvik pour delivrer a James hammylton filz aisne dudict Conte daran.

Sur le IIIme que la royne regente luy envoya une coppie de la lettre y mentionnee pour luy faire entendre Lintention dudict Conte Et quant aux gabions fascynes et eschelles Incontinent que ledict conte daran et ses complices furent sortiz de ladicte ville de dinbourg ledict depposant y entra et veid la provision quilz en avoient faict.

Quant au Vme Dict avoir entendu de plusieurs gens de bien dignes de foy que telle proclamation a este faicte Et quil receut une coppie de la lettre que ledict conte daran et ses complices escripvirent a la royne par laquelle Ilz signiffierent la suspension de sa regence et administration.

Sur le VIme dict quil a entendu le contenu de plusieurs Et le tient pour chose certaine Que le mesme Jour James hammylton filz aisne dudict conte daran avecques ses complices vint assieger une maison dudict depposant nommee Creichton [1] et la print et spolia de tous ses biens qui y estoient Ledict depposant estant lors aux champs pres sadicte maison.

Sur le XIIme Dict que ce sont choses notoires congneuees et publicques par tout Escosse.

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[1] Crichton castle, 10 miles south-east of Edinburgh.

Dudict Jour

[149v] Hugues Conte daiglynton Lord de montgomery [1] age de vingt ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne produict receu Et apres serment par luy faict sur les sainctes evangilles de dire verite ouy et examine sur le second article Dict et deppose que ledict conte daran duquel Il a espouse une fille [2] a son arrivee enladite ville de dinbourg Luy escripvit une Lettre par Laquelle Il luy faisoit entendre que luy et aultres seigneurs du pais estoient assemblez en ladicte ville pour le bien publicq du pais Le priant venir aussi en ladicte ville pour y assister. Que nayant encores sceu les differendz entre la royne et ledict conte son beau pere Il sy achemina Et y trouva ledict conte son filz aisne et grand nombre de gens de guerre. Que ledict conte le persuadoit de prendre le party de luy et des aultres seigneurs present qui charcherent la liberte et bien publicq de Leur pais Laquelle La royne regente leur avoit refuze Et faisoit plusieurs choses au contraire A quoy ledict depposant respondit quil ne pouvoit croyre que La royne fut telle Et quil en avoit si bonne oppinion quil nadjousteroit foy a leur dire quil neust premierement parle a elle et entendu de sa propre parolle quelle ne vouloit accorder a la raison. Dict aussi quilz le soliciterent de signer ung contract et obligation faicte entre eulx Lequel ledict depposant dict quil ne signait poinct Jusques ace quil eust entendu sur ce Lintention de ladicte dame Quil demeura en ladicte ville de dinbourg par lespace de cinq ou six Jours Et voyant que ledict conte daran et ses complices pretendoient a chose desraisonnable Il se partit de Ladicte ville et les Laissa ne voullant assister ny favoriser a leurs entreprises Bien les avoit Ilz requis le Jour devant son partement luy promectre daller en la ville de petit lict devers la royne regente Ce quilz ne luy voullurent accorder.

[1] Hugh Montgomerie, third Earl of Eglinton, was reported to have accompanied the Lords of the Congregation to Edinburgh on 18 October (see *F.C.E.*, ii, no. 130. 24 October. Sadler and Croft to Cecil). *Scots Peerage*, iii, 440, says 'under sixteen in 1546', but also that he entered St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, as a student in 1552, where the usual age of entry was about twelve.

[2] See *Scots Peerage*, iii, 441. He married Jane, second daughter of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran and Duke of Châtelherault.

Sur le IIIme Quen la maison de Justice de ladicte ville dedinbourg dicte le talbouth apres plusieurs consultations les Srs. de la congregation feirent la lettre signee dudict Conte daran son [150r] filz aisne et aultres leurs complices et requirent ledict depposant de signer Ce quil reffusa Et estoit present quant ung Jeune gentilhomme serviteur du prieur de sainct andre fut envoye avecques ladicte lettre devers La royne.

Sur le Vme Avoir este audict tollburth ung Jour du moys doctobre duquel Il ne se souvient presisement, ou estoit ledict conte daran et plusieurs aultres Et avoit faict une lettre pour estre envoyee a ladicte dame par laquelle Il declaroit quil avoit suspendu sa commission et pouvoir de regente Et que ledict depposant fut encores sollicite dy voulloir consentir Ce quil Refusa Et apres [mit] acte et Instrument dudict reffuz es mains dun notaire Et quant a la proclamation Il a ouy dire quelle a este faicte.

Du————IXme Jour dudict moys

Reverend pere en dieu Robert [1] abbe commendataire de saincte croix age de XXV ans ou environ Tesmoing adjourne produict receu et apres serment par luy faict [a]de dire verite[a] sur les sainctes evangilles de dire verite ouy et examine sur le premier desdicts articles a dict et deppose que quelques Jours auparavant La convention mentionnee en Icelle Il fut sollicite par plusieurs lettres et messaigers du conte daran et aultres seigneurs quil estimoit estre ses amys de se trouver en la ville de hammylton en une assemblee quilz estoient deliberez faire pour le commun bien et liberte du royaulme comme Ilz disoient Et environ le vingt cinquiesme Jour de septembre Il se trouva audict [a]lieu[a] hammylton ou tous les seigneurs de la congregation estoient lesquelz par diverses foys furent en conseil Et apres plusieurs disputes se resouldrent denvoyer a la Royne regente la lettre mentionnee audict article qui luy a este

[1] Robert Stewart, natural son of James V, born 1533. (Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, 2nd ed., p. 239.)

[a-a] deleted.

exhibee Et la Recongneue Et dict avoir veu ledict conte et son filz aisne signer ladicte lettre.[1]

[150v] Sur le second article Dict que ledict conte sondict filz et aultres seigneurs susdicts feirent une autre convention en armes a Streveling de la vindrent alythquho et dudict Lythquho en edinbourg estans au nombre comme Il estime de cinq mil hommes ou ledict Conte et son filz avecques Ladite compaignye demourerent par lespace de vingt Jours Ladite dame regente assiegee en la ville de petitlict Le scait parce quil estoit lors en la compaignie desdicts Contes.

Sur le IIIme quil estoit present quant la lettre y mentionnee en datte du XIXe octobre fut signee par ledict conte daran et son filz et envoyee par le Jeune sr de Camot Laquelle luy a este exhibee et la recogneue Ce rapportant au contenu dicelle.

Sur le IIIIme Dict avoir veu sortir de ladicte ville de dinbourg par plusieurs foys ledict James hammylton avecques gens en armes et attacher escaramouches avecques ceulx qui estoient en ladicte ville de petitlict. En avoir veu plusieurs blessez et morz Quil fut tire quelques flesches la nuyt avecques escripte[aux] dedans ledict petitlict qui estoient affin dattirer quelques ungs a se rendre de leur party.

Sue le Vme Dict que peu de Jours apres leur arrivee ledict conte son filz et aultres leurs complices feirent faire une proclamation en ladicte ville dedinbourg par laquelle Ilz suspendirent pour quelques occasions quilz disoient les mouvoir toute auctorite et administration a la royne regente destituerent aussi plusieurs officiers prevost baillifz et aultres et en Instituerent daultres [2] Et quil estoit present au conseil quand Ilz feirent ceste deliberation a laquelle Il ne voulut consentir congnoissant des ceste heure ce quilz entreprenoient contre lauctorite du roy et de la royne et se despartit deulx pour se retirer devers la royne regente comme Il a faict.

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[1] His own signature is at the foot of the letters dated 19 September and 19 October (see p. 96, n.1).

[2] There is no trace of this in *Edinburgh Burgh Records*.

[151r] Sur le VIme Quil estoit present le Jour de toussainctz quant Ilz menerent deux pieces dartillerye sur la montaigne de Cragingalt dou Ilz tirerent quelques coups dedans la ville de petitlict ou estoit assiegee la royne regente desquelles Lune fut menee audict petitlict Lautre demoura rompue sur le champ.

Dudict Jour

Robert Maxwel baillif de la ville dedinbourg [1] age de quarente six ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne produict receu et apres serment par luy faict sur les sainctes evangilles de dire verite ouy et examine sur le second desdicts articles dict et deppose avoir este en la ville dedinbourg lors que le dict conte James hammylton son filz aisne et aultres seigneurs qui se disent de la congregation y arriverent en armes en grande compaignye Et estoit present quant la royne regente partit du palais saincte croix pour se retirer en la ville de petitlict ainsi que les gens dudict conte commencerent a entrer audict Edinbourg Et quil entendit de ladicte dame quelle se retiroit pour eviter effusion de sang et la furie dudict conte et ses complices.

Sur le IIIme Dict avoir entendu que la lettre y mentionnee fut envoyee par ledict camot Et quant aux gabions eschelles fascynes et aultres preparatifz pour assaillir ladicte ville de petitlict Il en a veu fabricquer a ceste Intention.

Sur le IIIIme Dict avoir par plusieurs foys veu sortir James hammylton filz aisne dudict conte daran avecques gens de guerre et faire escaramouches avecques ceulz qui sortoient de petitlict quil en a veu plusieurs blessez Et ouy dire quil y en avoit aussi de tuez.

Sur le Ve Dict quil estoit en ladicte ville dedinbourg quant la proclamation mentionnee audict article fut faicte maiz quil ne se trouva au lieu ou elle se faisoit Et a entendu de plusieurs [151v] que la commission de regence et administration de la royne regente avoit este suspendue et questant baillif de Ladicte ville Il fut requis par ledict

[1] He does not appear as such in *Edinburgh Burgh Records*.

conte son filz et aultres ses complices de faire service en son office [1] Ce quil Refusa voyant leurs entreprinses Et sur lheure le destituerent dudict office et Instituerent en sa place ung nomme david somer ou m^e Jacques watson, ne scait Lequel des deux.[2]

Du————dix^me Jour dudict moys

M^e Jehan preston [3] baillif de La ville de dinbourg age de quarente six ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne produict receu et apres serment par luy faict de dire verite ouy et examine Sur le premier article Dict et deppose quil estoit en france en ce temps la mais quil a entendu depuys son retour Le contenu en Icelle par gens de bien dignes de foy.

Sur le second Quil estoit en ladicte ville dedinbourg et veid arriver ledict conte daran son filz aisne et aultres leurs complices en armes avecques grande compaignye.

Sur le III^me Dict avoir veu faire grande quantite deschelles fascynes et quelques gabions que ceulx de la congregation disoient estre pour expugner le petitlict.

Sur le IIII^me Dict que les escaramouches qui ont este faictes sont choses notoires congneues et publicques a ung chacun.

Sur Le V^me Quil estoit present quant la proclamation fut faicte a la croix de dinbourg par laquelle La commission de regence de la royne mere fut suspendue comme Il luy semble Jusques au X^me de Janvier ou prochain parlement Pareillement furent suspenduz par Ladicte proclamation tous officiers darmes et leurs executions pour ledict temps Et luy estans lors baillif de Ladite ville fut par ledict conte daran et ses complices requis de servoir

[1] There is no trace of this in *Edinburgh Burgh Records*.

[2] David Somer's name appears as bailie in 1559-60 and as procurator-fiscal in 1564 in the 'List of provosts and bailies of the city of Edinburgh' (*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, iv, 302-3). James Watson appears in the same list as Dean of Guild from 14 October 1560 to 28 August 1561. There is no trace in the *Records* of the changes mentioned here.

[3] *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, x, 207, mention John Little and John Preston, burgesses of Edinburgh. See Knox, *Hist. Ref.*, i, 242, n. 3; ii, 21, n. 8. John Preston's name occurs in the 'List of provosts and bailies of the city of Edinburgh, 1559-60.' (See *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, iv, 301.)

en son office es choses qui Luy seroient par Luy commandees et quil refusa suyvant La defence que luy en avoit faicte ladicte dame.[1] Et a ceste cause le destituerent [152r] avecques les aultres baillifz et conseil de Ladicte ville et en Instituerent daultres assavoir Archibald duglas prevost david somer Me Jacques Watson Edouard Hop[e] Adam frereton [FULLERTON] baillifz et aultres douze pour le conseil dont Il nest bien memoratif des noms.[2]

Dudict Jour

Edouard Lytil [3] baillif de Ladicte ville dedinbourg age de quarente cinq ans ou environ tesmoing adjourne produict receu et apres serment par luy faict [a]de dire verite[a] sur les sainctes evangilles de dire verite ouy et examine Sur le second desdicts articles Dict et deppose quil avoit les clefs de la porte de Wast quant le dict conte daran son filz aisne et leurs complices y arriverent Et questant pres Ladicte porte prest a leur ouvrir Ilz ne voulurent attendre mais coupperent Ladicte porte et y entrerent en armes avecques grande compaignye.

Sur le IIIme Dict quil estoit en ladicte ville de dinbourg et entendit que le Jeune sr. de Camot avoit este envoye devers La royne regente Et quil a veu fabricquer les eschelles et pour ung Jour Jusques au nombre de quarente cinq.

Sur le Vme Dict quil estoit en ladicte ville de dinbourg quant la proclamation y mentionnee fut faicte pour suspendre Lauctorite de la royne Et quant a la destitution des baillifz ct officiers de Ladicte ville Dict quil fut appelle devant Ledict conte Qui le requist de servir en son office en ce qui Luy seroit commande dequoy Il fut refusant Et

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[1] See *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, iv, 36-7. 14 May, the Queen Regent to the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh urging them to prevent sedition and misrule in their town.

[2] Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie was provost (27 October 1559 to 30 August 1560) and John Preston, Adam Fullerton, David Somer, and Edward Hope were bailies. (*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, iv, 301.)

[3] Edward Little was bailie 1557-8 (*ib.*).

[a-a] deleted.

sur lheure fut destituc de sondict office de baillif Et en sa place Institue ung aultre.

Dudict Jour

Messire Archibault Crawfurd recteur de Eglishom [1] [152v] chanoine de l'eglise metropolitaine de glasgw age de quarante six ans on environ Tesmoing adjourne produict receu et apres serment par luy faict sur ses sainctes ordres et en foy de presbre de dire verite ouy et examine sur le premier desdicts articles Dict et deppose quil a bonne souvenance que la lettre y mentionnee fut presentee a la royne par ung nomme Jhonston serviteur du conte daran lequel sen alla Incontinent sans attendre la responce Et estant lors ledict depposant en la chambre de la royne entendit le contenu en ladicte lettre ainsi quil est articule.

Sur le second article Quil estoit avecques la royne regente quant elle se retira a petitlict Et ya tousiours demoure durant le siege qui a este par lespace de vingt Jours.

Sur le IIIme Dict avoir este present quant le Jeune seigneur de camot apporta la lettre y mentionnee a la royne et veid Ledict depposant Ladicte Lettre Laquelle luy estant exhibee Il a recongneue.

Sur le IIIIme Dict que de Ladicte ville a veu par plusieurs foys escaramouches entre ceulx qui se disoient de la congregation et ceulx qui estoient audict petitlict avecques la royne.

Sur le Vme Dict avoir este present quant une lettre fut apportee a la royne de la part dudict Conte et ses complices par laquelle Ils mandoient a ladicte dame avoir suspendu son auctorite et ne la vouloir plus rencognoistre pour regente Laquelle lettre Il veid alors signee dudict Conte daran son filz aisne et aultres Et Luy estant exhibee la Recongneue.

Dudict Jour

Jacques Coky orfevre demourant en la ville dedinbourg age de vingt quatre ans ou environ Tesmoing adjourne

[1] Almost certainly the same man who later became provost of St. Mary's. See *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* (2nd edition), iii, 386.

produict receu et apres serment par luy faict sur les [153r] sainctes evangilles de dire verite ou et examine

Sur les VII VIII et IXmes desdicts articles Dict et deppose que a la venue dudict conte daran et ses complices en la ville de dinbourg vindrent ung matin devant son lever deux serviteurs dudict conte luy commandant de venir en son Logis parler avecques Luy et les aultres seigneurs de La congregation Et ne voulurent partir de la Jusques a ce quil sen allast avecques eulx disans avoir commandement de le mener et conduyre au logis dudict conte, ce quilz feirent Et y trouva Ledict conte daran Le conte de glencarne lord Ruthven le prieur sainct andre et aultres seigneurs et gentilshommes de la congregation qui estoient prestz a venir a tollburth Et luy commandarent quil allast avecques eulx comme Il feist Et Lappellant le conte de glencarne Luy dict quil faloit quil gravast ung signet et des coingz pour la monnoye quilz vouloient faire battre Aquoy ledict depposant respondit quil nestoit usite en telles choses Et quil ne pourroit ny vouldroit lentreprendre sans le commandement de la royne regente de laquelle Il estoit serviteur Joinct a ce quil y alloit de sa vye Et lors ledict conte daran et tous les aultres ensemble Luy dirent quil le faloit faire Et quil ne trouvast poinct dexcuse car Ilz estoient bien Informez quil les feroit bien Et quilz en prenoient la charge sur eulx Au commandement desquelz de craincte de sa vye Il nosa refuser et grava ledict signet aux armes des Roy et Royne noz souverains [a]En feit signer deux Lettres[a] Lequel ledict conte daran Receut hors de ses mains et en sa presence en feit signer deux Lettres ne scay ou Il les envoya depuys Dict aussi quil commenca lesdicts coingz a lun [a]desdicts costez[a] des costes desquelz estoit une couronne despines avec une croix Et de [153v] Lautre une table ou estoit escript verbum dei Mais ny besongnant qua regret Il differoit Les achever tant quil pouvoit quelques solicitations que lon luy en feist de la part dudict conte et ses complices De sorte qua leur partement dudict edinbourg Ilz nestoient achevez Et en lestat quilz estoient Les a mis

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[a-a] deleted.

entre les mains de Jehan achison M^e. de la monnoye [1] Pour les rendre a la royne regente Ce quil a entendu depuys que Ledict M^e de la monnoye a faict. signe James Coke with my hand.

Lesquelz tesmoings ont este par nous recueuz Jurez ouyz et examinez selon et ainsi quil est contenu y dessus en leurs dictz et deppositions Que nous avons faict rediger par escript en ceste presente Information. Laquelle nous renvoyons pardevers voz maiestez et messeigneurs de votre conseil prive close et seelee des seelz de noz armes Et le tout certiffions avoir este par nous faict presents les dessusdictz macgill et bellenden Lesquelz par notre ordonnance ont avecques nous et Lediet greffier soubscript et signe La presente Information ensemble La coppie des Lettres missives en langaige Escossoys Et translation dicelles en francois Inserees en notre proces verbal dont les originaux ont este Recongneuz en leurs presences par les tesmoings cy dessus nommez Le [a] [a] jour de [a] [a] Lan mil cinq cens Cinquante neuf.[2]

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[1] *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, x, 233, 262, mention James Achesoun, Master of the Mint.

[2] The date can be supplied from Archives Foreign Office, Paris. *Mémoires et Documents*, *Angleterre*, rég. 15, ff. 61^v-62^v. Extraict du libelle citatoire decrete le dixiesme jour de febvrier lan mil V^c cinquante neuf Contre James Hammylton Conte d'Haran, . . . James Hammylton son filz aisne et aultres particuliers, leurs adherans et complices contenant les crimes et exces sur lesquelz ilz sont appellez en justice, ascavoir. . . . Le dict extraict a este par l'ordonnance et commandement de la Royne regente, collationne a l'original par nous Maistres Jacques Macgill clerc des registres roolles et conseil, et Jehan Bellenden clerc de justice general soubsignez, le xiiii jour du mois de febvrier lan mil cinq cens cinquante neuf. [1559/60.]

[a-a] blank.

THE DIARY OF SIR JAMES HOPE

24th January–1st October 1646

INTRODUCTION

The diary is contained in a small calf-bound volume exactly similar to the one whose contents (1646-54) were published under the same title in the Third Miscellany Volume of the Society (1919).[1] The text, which is unimpaired, occupies all but six of its 144 pages ; five of the others are given over to various memoranda.

The author, Sir James Hope of Hopetoun (1614-61), was the sixth son of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, the eminent Lord Advocate. After graduating in 1635 at Edinburgh University (which possesses his lecture notes for 1633-34) he continued his studies at Orleans. Soon after his return he married, on 14th January 1638, Anna Foulis, who had inherited from her father Robert Foulis, advocate, the five merklands of Waterhead or Overglengonnar in Crawfordmuir, known also as Leadhill. The lands with their minerals were included in the marriage contract as security for the bride's promised dowry of £20,000.[2] A disputed claim to part of the estate by Sir William Baillie of Lamington delayed entry,[3] but in September 1641 a grant was made *de novo* to Sir James and his spouse under the Great Seal,[4] and two months later he took sasine of the lands and barony. In this same decisive year he was made Governor of the Mint and held that post with distinction till 1660.

From the first he devoted himself with enthusiasm to the development of this rich heritage, and by 1645 had entered on a five years' contract for the supply of lead ore to a firm of merchants in Zeeland. It was thus as producer and

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[1] For the Hope family see Intro. to same.

[2] *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, ix, 902.

[3] *Register of the Privy Council, 2nd Series*, iv. 343 ; Edinburgh University Library, *Laing MSS., Div. II, 478* (7) ; *Diary of Sir Thomas Hope* (Bannatyne Club, 1843), 124-7-9, 148; *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, 1639-41, 222v.-223. See also p. 190, n. 3.

[4] *R.M.S.*, ix. 981.

exporter that he now undertook a visit to the Low Countries, the record of which forms the major part of the diary or, as he calls it, 'Memoriall.' He wished to meet the friendly Dutch partners; he had in mind the provision of plant and—a recurrent problem in early Scottish industry—the recruitment of skilled labour. But he was a young industrialist with a lively spirit of scientific enquiry and, throughout his planned itinerary, every manufacturing process or device that caught his interest was closely observed and recorded. Two-fifths of the text is devoted to this quest. Cities and men, however, engaged him as well as metals and machinery, and the day-to-day background is progressively touched in.

When he made his first entry on 24th January 1646, he had already been about four months in London. With his wife he had left Scotland in the previous September, acting as escort to his sister, Mary, and her young son Charles. Her husband, Sir Charles Erskine of Alva, had in July 1644 been elected an additional Scots Commissioner to England, and was to remain there almost continuously till the dissolution of the Committee of Both Kingdoms. The family group was later joined by James's elder brother, Sir Alexander, cupbearer to Charles I. He and his wife had set out in August from Craighall and been captured by Parliamentary forces near Newark.[1] Though Sir Charles Erskine secured their release they lost all their money and valuables.[2]

The opening nine pages are occupied almost wholly with money matters, set down with the same nicety of detail that marks his technical recordings. We see at work the officialdom through which the army of the Covenant was being financed. In Robert Inglis and the Dutchman Tierens we note the rising class of merchant bankers; there is also the worthy burgh commissioner and ex-provost of Ayr, Hew Kennedy, ready to negotiate a short term loan. The extravagant Sir Alexander figures largely; after his recent misadventure he would be more than ever in need

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1645-47*, 146, 148.
[2] *S.H.S., Miscellany Volume I*, 129.

of financial replenishment. Doubtless he had been receiving little if any salary, but he was fortunate in his far-sighted father and a loyal brother. In 1642 the Lord Advocate, as he records,[1] secured for him from James Livingstone, keeper of the privy purse, a guarantee of £2000 from that convenient stand-by, the King's annuity of teinds. When the only result was an accumulation of unpaid interest, it was Sir James who took over Livingstone's assignation and advanced cash for a paper expectancy.[2]

At last on March 7, having provided his wife with £95 stg. for use in his absence, he set out from London Bridge on his journey to Holland, accompanied by his man Robin Wilson. From Greenwich they rode on to Langley House, home of Sir Humphrey Stile, a fellow cupbearer of Sir Alexander (then resident there) and like him separated from the King still holding out in beleaguered Oxford.

On the way to Dover with Sir Humphrey and other country gentlemen the two brothers branched off to inspect the ' iron mills ' at Barden, some four miles from Tunbridge Wells. The twelve pages that follow make a notable addition to the history of English iron-making, especially in the design of an early blast furnace. Hitherto a name only, Barden comes busily alive, a smallish site but engaged in the casting of cannon under John Brown of Brenchley, the leading gunfounder of the day. It is of note too that at Liège Sir James found little difference in plant and process from what he saw at Barden, except that there was no preliminary roasting of the ore, and lime was used as a flux.[3] There follows a long detailed description of the allied making of charcoal, this being still the indispensable fuel for the smelting of iron.

At Dover a small re-united company, strongly royalist, dined at the Castle with the governor Sir John Boys, and later at Deal fort with its captain, Vice-admiral William Batten, both strong for the Parliament. This friendly mingling of political opposites is significant ; it exemplifies

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[1] *D.T.H.*, 166, 180. [2] V. *post*, p. 144, n. 3. [3] V. *post*, pp. 148, n. 9 ; 172.

the widespread desire for an agreed settlement at this stage of the conflict.

In a States man-of-war, heading a convoy, master and man left Deal a week later. They soon had experience of the danger to shipping in these waters from the Dunkirk privateers ; but this time ultimate victory had gone to the Dutchmen and our voyagers arrived at Flushing amid loud jubilation. Sir James made first for Middelburg, to meet and lodge with Francis Vanhoght, one of the contracting partners and an old importer. Eleven years previously he had come over to settle his lead ore and other accounts with Scottish merchants and been quarantined at Leadhill as a plague suspect.[1] On a similar visit in 1652 he fell ill and died at Sir James's home in the Cowgate.[2] He was now to act as interpreter and disburser on the coming expedition.

At the opening of his contract in 1645, Sir James had received an ' advancement ' of 10,000 merks ; he had also drawn, as agreed, £200 stg. each year on London through the firm's agent, Anthony Tirens.[3] In the year 1645-46 the Company had received no ore, a commentary on the disturbing effect of the ' troubles ' on production and export both. His account was thus, as he says, no longer liquid, and no doubt the initial motive behind his journey so far was to reach a personal settlement. He began to export again in 1647, when, as can be inferred from his correspondence, ' all that they could crave of me ' was being implemented.

At the end of his tour his indebtedness was further increased by incidental expenses, paid by Mr. Vanhoght, amounting to £300 great (or Flemish) and by a loan of about 250 guilders, in all some £170 to £180 stg. With the outstanding debt of nearly £1400 stg.[4] this was a goodly sum. The mutual goodwill and confidence shown in these transactions were the basis of an association which, through successive contracts, was to continue till the last years of

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[1] *R.P.C., 2nd Ser.*, vi. 145.
[2] *S.H.S., Misc.* iii. 149, and MS. Letter Book.
[3] MS. Letter Book, 11/21 Jan. 1648. Hope's usual spelling of the name.
[4] V. Appendix p. 197.

his life. The customary gifts which he later distributed to the staff and families of the partners were both liberal and comprehensive.

These friendly duties fulfilled, it was but a step to the Staple port of Veere, with its unique community of Scots abroad. In its conciergery house we meet the forceful conservator, Cunningham, and the scholarly pastor, William Spang. Some comment on the inn and port would have been welcome, but for Sir James there was matter more deserving in the intricate oil-extraction plant of the factor, James Eleis. And so at Dort : the governor of the Scottish mint held professional discourse with the assay master there ; at Gorkum it was the new Dutch ribbon loom that called for mention.

On the passage from Dort to Gorkum a young Scots student emerges for a brief moment in a considerable entry—one Archibald Erskine of Kirkbuddo in Angus. A younger son, and left with little means, he chose to ' follow his book,' in which he had ' profected well,' rather than accept the attractive offer of a career in the Hope lead business. There was hesitation both in making and refusing the offer, but ' Carbudoes son ' was for the road to France, and trace of him is lost.

Amsterdam, reached viâ Utrecht, detained him for twelve days, an indication of the many-sided attractiveness of that flourishing city. He viewed the shipping, worshipped in the French and English churches, attended a service in the synagogue and went to the play. He purchased bibles and other books, but by trying to beat down the price failed to secure an assay balance and a sable muff for his wife.

Three episodes stand out. In Frans Rooy he met a former Dutch associate who had experimented in his laboratory at Edinburgh and, doubtless as a foreign expert, had made saltpetre in Scotland ; now in Rooy's laboratory he saw an industrial chemist at work on his own ground. There was also his encounter with the German Peter Hexe who, acting for a group of Dutchmen, claimed a high silver content for the ore of a Cologne lead mine in which the Middelburg partners were being offered a quarter share.

Sir James's caution and careful experiment exploded this claim and saved his Dutch friends their guilders.

He dined, too, with a Jean Meinershagen, wine merchant and lead producer, also from Cologne. Three pages are devoted to this ore of Cologne, from its mining and smelting (with charcoal) to the type of furnace and the yield per cent. Sir James must have felt that this had been a most rewarding meal, as it also brought the promise to recruit workers, 'speciallie a good smelter,' for Scotland.

After Amsterdam Haarlem—mentioned merely in passing—then through Leyden and The Hague to Rotterdam. Leyden was the foremost of the Dutch universities, attracting both teachers and students from far and wide; it was then, and long afterwards, a favourite place of study for Scottish students of law.[1] Three young Scots came to meet this visitor from home. One would have liked to hear more of Professor Stewart, that doughty Presbyterian who earned the scornful notice of Milton. To Robert Baillie he would have been an ideal principal for St. Leonard's,[2] but Leyden held him till his death in 1654.

The Hague presents an unusual interlude, with palace interiors and groupings of the high-born around their dining tables. Of these the young Princess Royal dined alone and was served *à la reine*. Her aunt, the exiled Winter Queen, sat among her daughters; and there is a parting glimpse of Prince Frederick Henry, ageing now and worn, not to live to see his country's independence recognised on terms assured by his long and stubborn exertions.

Here, appropriately, passes were obtained from the Estates and from Brussels to enable the three travellers to reach the principality of Liège. 'At this time Spanish troops were stationed under the walls of Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, Brussels, Namur and Mons to defend the chief cities as long as possible, and the Duke of Lorraine had placed his forces at the disposal of the Spanish government.'[3] They ran some risk, therefore, in venturing into 'the enemies country' but, apart from one or two

[1] Stair Society, vol. i, 233.
[2] *Letters and Journals*, iii, 7.
[3] Blok, *History*, iv, 126.

brushes with stray units, they were not seriously impeded.

Rotterdam seems more alive with Scots than Veere. So large was the number of settlers that on their petition to the presbytery of Edinburgh in 1642 to find them a minister, the Rev. Alexander Petrie was prevailed upon to become the first incumbent of this new Scottish charge. To his rigorous discipline Sir James bears witness. The church took root: it became the chief seat of worship for the Scots Brigade and it is still in communion with the Church of Scotland.

Before leaving Rotterdam he took the precaution of handing over to the resident Scots merchant, John Rind, money and personal effects which might have appealed to the roving soldiery. Also, during dinner he listened to the discussion of Mr. Vanhoght's proposal that the Middelburg and Rotterdam lead-importing firms should combine and so cut out competition. A decision was left over, but a merger later took place.

The way to Liège led through Hertogenbosch and Maastricht, both captured by Frederick Henry from Spain, strongly fortified, and each a check-point for passing travellers. In the former were stationed two of the many Scots of good family who found a career abroad in the Scots Brigade—Captain Bruce of Airth and Major Walter Murray, maternal uncle of the Earl of Lothian. After Sir James had paced and noted the dimensions of the recently built citadel, he left for Maastricht on 22nd April, 'a most stormie day for weette and wind,' and two days later was in Liège, arriving in 'a great boat drawn by four horses.'

The highly industrialised Meuse valley, from Liège to Namur, was his grand objective, and there both mind and eye found plentiful diversion. The amount of material he gathered in a week is astonishing in its variety and detail. It includes extended descriptions of an iron rolling and cutting mill: a coal-pit and its working: the mining of pyrites and alum stone, with the extraction of vitriol and sulphur and the excocting of alum: the casting of small shot and the refining of pig-iron. There are references also to three glass furnaces, the boring and adjusting of muskets,

a blast furnace (almost similar to that at Barden), a calamine work, and the utilisation of lead slag. In these crowded 23 pages the intense industrial activity of the region is forcefully conveyed. Strangely enough, in the quite large order he left for ironwork to be forwarded were 36 muskets.

At Namur, their faces now turned homeward, the travellers viewed with anxiety the prospect of private travel through the enemy occupied territory, but Brussels was reached safely under an escorting convoy. There the Kermesse, with its profanation of the Sabbath, is responsible for the only emotional trace in the whole book.

Antwerp, reached by a series of descending locks, was for him ' the sueetest toun that ever I was in.' He made purchases there amounting to £420 Scots, including, at last, an assay balance and, rather strangely, some 65 ells of various kinds of plush.[1] As at Namur, too, he was attracted by the imposing baroque interiors of the Jesuit churches. When they had crossed the Scheldt to Fort Lillo, they were back in Holland; thence by Rammekens to the starting-point.

He had now been away from London for two months and was evidently anxious to return. At Flushing he found a ship ready to sail and resolved to part at once. After a hurried reckoning of the expenses of the tour, including purchases by the way, and the adjustment by word of mouth of the terms of the five years' contract, he bade farewell to his good Middelburg friends and went aboard, leaving Robin Wilson to follow with his baggage. For fellow-passengers he had a variety of royalist agents and sympathisers, and we seem to step back at a bound into the political tangles of the time.

As on the outward journey to Flushing, there was a flurry of excitement during the crossing from Calais to Dover. On landing he went to ' the preaching ' before settling about his pass—a revealing touch. The news heard at Calais of the King's surrender to the Scots no doubt lent urgency to his travel, and he reached his lodging in the Strand by Monday, the third day out from Flushing.

For over three weeks he remained in London, weeks taken

[1] V. Appendix, p. 195.

up with sight-seeing, hospitality, and money transactions, in which Sir Alexander was again a beneficiary. Then on 3rd June an impressive cavalcade passed out of London northwards—Sir James and his household in a coach drawn by six horses, Sir Alexander and his lady in their own coach, and on horseback Sir Charles Erskine and that able negotiator on behalf of the Crown, Sir Thomas Dishington. From Barnet next day the coach for Scotland went on alone; the others returned to London—Sir Charles to his duties as Commissioner, and Sir Alexander to rejoin the King in mid-July and be 'readmitted to his place.'

On the way north, Sir James was still on the outlook for workers and on this point and on details about the Derbyshire lead mines had long converse at Grantham with a skilled local miner. Newark was by-passed because of 'the seicknesse,' and there was a day's delay at York because of a broken axle. At Newcastle, 'where for the present the King was,' his habit of beating down a price lost him a valuable deal in horses and pistolets, at which he seemed unjustifiably aggrieved. Giving up his place in the coach to the wife of a friend, he took horse and arrived at Edinburgh four days later—from London seventeen days in all.

The few remaining pages are occupied with financial and family matters mainly; among these are the exoneration of Sir Alexander from the charge of betraying an official secret, and the author's attempt to purchase the silver-bearing lands of Hilderston from the Torphichen family. He failed at the time, but this was a property on which he had set his heart [1] and he finally succeeded.[2]

The death of his father,[3] with which the diary closes, is told with a quiet dignity. Sir Thomas had graduated at Edinburgh in 1592; he was 'of an age' with his friend, John Ker,[4] minister of Preston, born in 1576,[5] and so was now aged seventy at least. Of his numerous family only the debonair Sir Alexander came near that span.

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[1] *S.H.S., Misc.* iii. 155. [2] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. 361.
[3] See opening of *Diary* in *S.H.S., Misc.* iii.
[4] *D.T.H.*, 203. [5] *Fasti*, i. 388.

As for Sir James himself, we are left with the impression of a very companionable man, shrewd and hard-headed, but kindly-disposed ; a man truly devout, yet no narrow precisian. His diary is a factual document, but it conveys a real sense of life and movement. Into the daily round the wars still lingering on at home and abroad enter scarcely at all ; of personal opinion and political comment there is a cautious avoidance. Interesting as are its sidelights on contemporary society, the real significance of the record lies in its unique contribution to our knowledge of seventeenth-century technology. Within its smaller compass it provides, in the opinion of one authority, the most important compendium of industrial processes since Agricola's *De re metallica* (1556). In some of these also Sir James is known to have priority.

His description of Wealden iron-making provides an earlier and much fuller *locus* than that of John Ray in 1672 ; [1] his long exposition of charcoal-making in Kent comes well before that of John Evelyn in his *Sylva*. The first account of alum-making in England was by Daniel Colwall in 1678 ; [2] here, in 1646, the flourishing alum industry in the Liège area has authoritative notice. Apart also from a brief reference by Brereton in 1634 [3] to the copperas work at Queenborough in Kent, Hope's long and precise description of the manufacture of sulphur and copperas seems to antedate any similar source in English. On these and other subjects such as the casting of sulphur into interlocking shapes, oil-seed crushing and a rolling and cutting mill, the diary is likely to interest researchers into this early industrial field.

Along with the diary there was originally a file of sketches or diagrams (variously called scenographe, icnographie) and several ' descriptions apart.' It is unfortunate that these appear to have been lost : they would have thrown light on the labour-saving oil-extraction plant at Veere (p. 158), where the seed was crushed, warmed and expressed

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[1] Quoted in E. Straker, *Wealden Iron*, pp. 44-46.
[2] Royal Society, *Phil. Trans.*, xii. 1052-6 ; *ibid*, 1056-9, *re* copperas.
[3] *Travels*, pp. 2-3.

by only one man, or have given welcome particulars about the Gorkum ribbon loom. Apart from the 'scenographe' of Ham House, and notes on the sundials in the convent garden at Liège, the others were of decided technical interest—the windmill at Deal (p. 154), the furnace in the sulphur refinery at Noirivaux (p. 173), the drainage pumps at the alum mines near Jonky (p. 178), and the water-driven forge-hammer at Huy (p. 180). It is, in sum, an extraordinary harvest for a few short weeks.

While much of his observation had a bearing on his own lead-works, one may try to discern a motive for the wider sweep of his enquiries. It may be recalled, for example, that his wife's uncle, Sir David Foulis of Ingleby (d. 1642) was one of the guarantors of the so-called Alum Company formed in Yorkshire in 1607, and had a life-long interest in that trade. Also in 1620 Thomas Erskine, Earl of Kellie, a relative of Hope's brother-in-law Sir David Erskine of Cardross, had a thirty-one years tack of all the alum mines in Scotland,[1] with power to form a 'societie' for their exploitation and to bring in foreign labour. In the family entourage Sir James may have become familiar with these projects and studied the alum and allied chemical industries at Liège with a view to bringing back first-hand knowledge of their working. Whatever plans may have been forming in his mind, they were not to be realised. That he intended to strike out in other directions is apparent from his later acquisition of the Binnie silver mines at Hilderston —an old wish fulfilled—and, in 1659, of the copper mines of Airthrey, near Stirling.[2] Mining was to remain his ruling interest, but he died before he could develop either of these new properties.

In 1649, he became an ordinary lord of session, and for the next five years was diverted into the turbulent stream of contemporary politics. Like his father, he took a line of his own : he was rusticated in 1651 and finally, not having commended himself to Cromwell, was excluded in 1654

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm., Mar and Kellie MSS.*, ii, 96, 169 ; *R.P.C., 1st Ser.*, xii, 231.

[2] *A.P.S.*, vii, 361 ; *Laing MSS.*, Div. II, 478 (10).

from the new commission for the administration of justice. On this the discriminating Nicoll remarks that 'the land suestnit much prejudice throw his removell for he wes a guid and upricht judge.'[1]

Even during these troubled years the mines were not neglected. His still extant letter-books, dealing with the export of his lead ore (or potloot) and covering the years 1648-53 and 1656-61, show a fluctuating but sustained output and shipment. In October 1661 [2] he made another visit to the Low Countries. From the letters it is now known what prompted that last expedition; there was a family as well as a business reason.

Sir James became a widower in 1656: in October of the following year, he married Mary, daughter and co-heiress of William Keith, seventh Earl Marischal.[3] (Like his two sisters he was now allied to the old Scottish nobility.) Of the twelve children of his first marriage all but two, John and Rachel, died young. In 1659, for reasons not specified, he sent John[4] to Leyden under a tutor and guardian, Andrew Ross, and both were entered on the matriculation roll of the University (23rd October). The strange thing is that John was then only in his tenth year.

In September 1661 his last six years' contract was due to expire; it was for an annual average of up to 400 tons with a maximum of 600 tons in any one year. He was anxious to renew the contract (at £8, 6s. 8d. stg. per ton, free on board) but found himself faced with an obstinate resistance from the combined importers on grounds of price, quantity and terms of payment.[5] The days of the happy Zeeland association were gone. In long detailed letters he briefed Ross, acting as his agent, on how to conduct negotiations, referring lovingly also to his son; 'my blissing to John' is a recurrent phrase. He was evidently bound up in the little lad, the precious survivor of a devastated nursery.

Ross got into some sort of trouble (never openly defined)

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[1] *Diary of John Nicoll* (Bannatyne Club, 1836), p. 132.
[2] *R.P.C., 3rd Ser.*, i, 29.
[3] *Scots Peerage*, vi. 60, but G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*, viii, 483 has 'sixth'.
[4] Lost at sea, 1682; father of Charles, 1st Earl of Hopetoun, 1703.
[5] *MS. Letter-Book*, 23/13 Aug., 1661; to Rev. Alex. Petrie, Delft.

and withdrew from Leyden. John came under the care of the Rev. Alexander Petrie, minister at Delft, and son of that Alexander who had administered the Covenant and sacrament to Sir James at Rotterdam.[1] Petrie at his request intervened with the Company,[2] but came no speed, nor did the Leith manager, Alexander Tait, sent over with plenary powers to reach a settlement. So Sir James set out himself for the double purpose of arranging for his son's welfare, and coming to terms with the niggling partners. And there the record closes. Two days after his return he died on 23rd November of ' the Flanders sickness ' in his brother Alexander's house at Granton, aged forty-seven.

Sir James was a man of many parts ; judge and lead-master, scientist and administrator, he remains one of the outstanding personalities of that age. His untimely death was undoubted loss. In the more settled years ahead, with the increasing application of the scientific spirit to industry, the author of the diary could have spoken with knowledge and authority.

In this transcription punctuation has been clarified and the haphazard use of capitals avoided. Additions are shown in square brackets. Otherwise, apart from conventional extensions, the text is unchanged.

I wish to express my grateful thanks to Professor J. D. Mackie, Dr. C. T. McInnes and Dr. E. W. M. Balfour-Melville for their helpful guidance at various stages. For information on persons and places abroad I am also much indebted to Mr. A. van der Poest Clement at the Hague, Drs L. P. L. Pirenne at Hertogenbosch, and to Messieurs Etienne Hélin and Jean Bovesse, archivists at Liège and Namur respectively. In dealing with the scientific and technical matters arising the generous co-operation of Mr. Robert H. S. Robertson has been invaluable. To others unnamed I offer a collective acknowledgement of much courtesy and kindness.

P. Marshall.

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[1] V. p. 167.

[2] Gerard Nienhove (Rotterdam) Jean Blondell (Middelburg) and Company.

Saterday. Upon the earnest desyre of my brother Sir Alexander,[1] I borrowed £200 st. from Mr. Tirens [2] upon the accompt of Mr. Vanhoght and Companie,[3] for the which I gave band of this dayes date in dito Antony his owne name untill it should be accepted by the Dutchmen, payable to him heire in London the 24 of Julie nixt with ane halfe yeires interest.[4] And als I borrowed ane hundreth lib. st. from Mr. English [5] upon my tickett of this dayes date also payable to him or his ordor betuixt and the first of March nixt with interest. This three hundreth lib. sterling it is to passe upon my brothers owne accompt (in part of payment of the 560 lib. st. advanceable be me to him) and to be lent be him to Sir Umphra Stylles [6] upon his tickett for the repayment therof with interest within 6 weekes.

26 Moneday. Sir Umphra Stylles not haveing occasione to use the mony I sent backe to Mr. English his 100 lib. st. and retired my tickett. The uther 200 lib. I reteined for my oune and my brothers use.

Febre 5. Thurseday. Amongst uther lettres from Scot-

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[1] Sir Alexander Hope of Granton, b. 1611 ; carver extraordinary, later cupbearer, to Charles I ; m. December 1642 Anna Bell (*D.T.H.*, 181) ; died s.p. 13 Feb. 1680.

[2] Anthony Tirens (Anthonis Tierens) Dutch merchant in London ; agent for Hope's business transactions with the Low Countries (MS. Letter Book, 1648-53) ; Cunningham of Veere's correspondent for payments for war supplies by treasurers of Goldsmiths' Hall. V. his *Journal*, ed. E. J. Courthope, S.H.S., 1927.

[3] Messrs. Robert Lefebvre and Francis Vanhoght, merchants and importers in Middelburg.

[4] See Compt in Appendix.

[5] Robert English (Inglis) merchant and banker in London ; factor for Sir Wm. Dick of Edinburgh ; agent for the transfer of sums paid at Goldsmiths' Hall for the Scots army. *D.T.H.*, 141, 143, and Letters in S.H.S. *Misc.*, vol. i, pp. 134-5 ; C. S. Terry, *The Army of the Covenant*, p. 363, S.H.S., 1917 ; *R.P.C.*, 2*nd Ser.*, vii, 446-7.

[6] Sir Humphrey Stile (Stylles) of Langley, Kent. Cupbearer to Charles I, cr. baronet 20 May 1627. Colonel of the trained bands of Horse in Kent. Died s.p. 10 Nov. 1659. W. A. Shaw, *Knights of England*, ii, 180 ; G.E.C. *Baronetage*, ii, 18.

land I receaved ane lettre and ordor from my Lord Humbie.[1] to Mr. Kennedie Commissionare for the bourrowes heire at London [2] for payment to me of the soume of £60 st. for the which I had ane præceept from the Committe for the Livvées in Scotland upon William Thomsone sub Commisare,[3] dated Julie 1643, which hath ever lyen over untill now ; it was granted in payment of a certaine quantitie of barre lead sold be me for the use of the publieke.[4]

13 Freidday. Conforme to the foresaid ordor I receaved payment of the said soume from the Thesaurares of Goldsmyths Hall [5] upon the accompts of the Lord Humbie, Thesaurare of the Scots armie, and accordinglie gave them my receat subscryved at the footte of the foresaid ordor.

17 Teuseday. Amongst my lettres from Scotland I receaved ane assignatione to blanke persone subscryved be my father with consent of my brother Sir Alexander for his interesse of the ten thousand merkes that was addebted be the Erle of Murray [6] to my father, and first assigned be him to my brother Sir Alexander, and therefter transferred to me be my said brother with the interesses therof since Mart[inmas] 1643 in satisfactione of what he was owne me as by our severall subscryved accompts, speciallie that fitted at London 6 Deer. last ; and now at last, to avoyde the multplieing of seureties, assigned immediatlie

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[1] Sir Adam Hepburn of Humbie, knighted and appointed Ordinary Lord of Session, 1641 ; Commissary-General of Scots army in England (*A.P.S.*, vi (i), 40, 88, 752). V. Terry, *op. cit.* for details of his accounts.

[2] Hew Kennedy, provost of Ayr 1643-4, 1648-9, 1650-1. As bailie of Ayr he was on the commission which negotiated the Treaty of Ripon (*A.P.S.*, v, 336). In July 1644, appointed one of three additional Commissioners sent by the Estates to England (*A.P.S.*, vi (i), 159). See also, H. W. Meikle, *Correspondence of the Scots Commissioners in London.*

[3] Former depute to Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, Commissary-General in 1640 ; appointed 17 Nov. 1642 receiver and disburser of money and stores granted by the Eng. Parlt. for support of the Scots troops in Ireland. (*R.P.C.*, 2nd Ser., vii, 343-5) ; by Jan. 1644 depute to Lord Humbie (*A.P.S.*, vi (i) 74).

[4] In the Accompt of Lord Humbie, 9 Mareh 1645, he was 'payed 720 lib. Scotts for 400 stone of fyned lead.' Terry, *op. cit.*, 261.

[5] Miehael Herring and Riehard Waring ; officials of the Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall, set up in 1643 to raise funds for the prosecution of the war. From them came the payments to the Scots army in England. V. *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding.* Vol. i, Introduction.

[6] James Stewart, 4th Earl of Moray.

be my father to my behooffe, bot blanke persone, that I may insert therin either my owne or any uther name I please.

23 Febre[1] Teuseday. I gave band to my brother Sir Alexander for payment to him of £560 sterling antedated to the 6 of Decr. because relative to our fitted compt subscryved that day. Item I gave him ane note such as I had given him before for satisfactione of my sister dated 25 May 1645, whereof I have ane double besyde me. Item I gotte from him ane discharge of ane £100 st. as a part of the foresaid £560 st. dated 13 Febre instant. Item I gotte ane dispositione from him of ane assignatione made to him be Mr. Livingstoune[2] of £560 st. as for the bygone interesse præceiding Whyts[unday] last of the summe of £2000 st.[3] dew to him fourth of the annuitie of teinds,[4] which dispositione is also antidated to the 11 of Aug. last in respect that in the warrandice of the soume therin and relative therto my father did give me ane obligatione dated at Craighall[5] the said 11th day of August. Note that this dispositione be my brother to me is subscryved bot by one witnes, there not being any more heire for the present that were in Craighall at that tyme ; bot Martine Craufurd[6] or Johne Clerke my fathers men who wer witnes to my fathers will also be witnes to it in respect that it also should have been then subscryved, bot deferred upon the occasione of my brothers suddaine parteing.[7]

This day also my brother Sir Alexander subscryved consenter to the assignatione sent up be my father to me the 17 of Febre last. And he told me that the former assignatione therof that had been granted to him selfe

[1] *rectius* 24.

[2] James Livingstone, 5th son of Sir John Livingstone of Abercorn, groom of the bedchamber and keeper of the privy purse to Charles I. *Scots Peerage*, vi, 450.

[3] The history of this £2000 of ' teinds reformit ' can be followed in *D.T.H.*, pp. 166, 180 (1642) and finally p. 218 (6 May 1645). The ' bygone interesse ' was then £480 stg.

[4] His Majesty's annuity of teinds, ratified in 1633 ; *A.P.S.*, v, 32. For subsequent grants from this source to James Livingstone (*supra*) for large sums due to him by the King, see *R.M.S.* ix, 1009 (1641), 1120, 1121 (1642) and *A.P.S.* vi (i) 38-9 (1643).

[5] In the parish of Ceres, Fife.

[6] Later servitor to Sir James.

[7] V. Intro. p. 130.

was in Scotland, and that he should have a care to see it cancelled.

March 2 Mooneday. I borrowed tuentie pounds sterling from Mr. Tirens payable at demand for which I gave him my tickett.

6 Freidday. I borrowed uther threttie pounds sterling from Mr. Tirens, wherupon I cancelled the former tickett, and upon the backe therof wrett ane new one for the whole fyftie pounds sterling payable as before.

March 7 Saterday. I borrowed from Hew Kennedy late Provest of Aire tuo hundreth fourtie nyne pounds sterling for the which I allowed 2 per c. for exchange (is 5 lib.) and for forbearance for 16 monthes untill Lambmesse 1647 (which I yeilded to at his desyre) with rebate for the tyme of payment because of the exchange, 23 lib..15.6⅓, for all the which extending to 277 lib..15.6⅓d sterling or 5000 merks Scots I gave my band and my brother Sir Charles [1] cautionar, payable at Lambmesse 1m 6c and fourtie seiven yeires with interest therefter. The said band is conceaved in ane ordinarie Scots forme payable in Edr in the nou house of James Rae late bailyie therof,[2] of the which band I have the just copie besyde me.

March 7. This day also with the reddiest of the foresaid mony I repayed to Mr. English his hundreth pounds sterling, with 3 lib. 6.6d. for 5 monthes interest therof; so I retired both my ticketts and cancelled them.

7. This day also I repayed Mr. Tirens his fyftie pounds sterling, and retired and cancelled my tickett therof which I gave yesterday.

This day also I gave to my wyfe [3] (besydes the 25 lib. st.

[1] His brother-in-law, Sir Charles Erskine of Alva and Bandeath, son of John, 7th Earl of Mar and his second wife, Lady Marie Stewart. He married Mary Hope, 5 Feb. 1639.

[2] Merchant burgess, son of former Treasurer James Rae, elected bailie Jan. 1642. Appointed Sept. 1643 Colonel of the Town's Regiment, and took part in the siege and storming of Newcastle, Oct. 1644. *Edinburgh Burgh Records 1642-55*, pp. 2, 33, 41; C. S. Terry, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, N.S. xxi, pp. 152, 217.

[3] Anna Foulis, dau. of Robert Foulis, advocate (son of James Foulis of Colinton) and Sara Speir (dau. of Thomas Speir, merchant burgess). On her father's death in 1631 she and her sister Elizabeth inherited the lands and minerals of Waterhead in Crawfordmuir, county of Lanark. Elizabeth dying in 1637, Anna was left sole heiress. *Retours, Lanark*, 177, 178, 195.

in mony which I gave her yesternight) three score ten pounds st. in gold. This day also at 4 a clocke in the efternoone I boated at the Bridge of London and came to Greenwige upon my journay for Holland, with my man Robine Wilsone with me. There I thoght to have mett with Sir Umphra Stylles, a Kentish Knight who had invited me to his house of Langlie within 6 myles of Greenwich where my brother Sir Alexander and his lady are remaineing with him for the present, bot he was gone before I came. So I tooke horses and came to Langlie that night efter 6 a clocke.

9 Moneday. Sir Umphray Steiles, and some uther countray gentlemen being to goe to Dover I resolved to goe with them and looke for passage there. Bot haveing a desyre to see the yron milnes besyde Tunbridge,[1] wee lett them goe the straight way to Dover, and my brother Sir Alexander and I and my man Robine went to Tunbridge, where we come being long 18 myles about 12 a clocke; bot our horses being some what wearie, we changed our horses there, and tooke fresh horses and ane guyde to the yron milne at Barden [2] some 4 myles off. When wee come neire we did first see heapes of the yron stonne, whereof ther wer severall sorts. One there was a blackish blew much lyke the color of a loadstone, or lyke a hard parrett coalle or till stonne that is found besyde it. Ane uther riddish, much lyke a marle stonne, which by the varie lyeing in the aire mullers [3] and cleives into brattes [4] lyke it (*above* both thir wer crustie and u[n]regular). A third I observed, much lyke unto a gray cambe stonne,[5] broke easilie into crusts, and cutt also with a knyfe smooth, bot not so easilie as cambe stonne. A fourth thinne lyke a sclait [6] hard and blakish, gray and blew spotted within with starres. Of all thir kinds ther wer severall sorts of intermediat colors and mixturs not so expressible as discernible. Besyd thir heapes there wer some of it lying

[1] For background see Ernest Straker, *Wealden Iron* (1931).
[2] At Barden Furnace Farm, near Speldhurst, the site of this furnace is still easily identifiable. Cf. Straker, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
[3] crumbles.
[4] flakes.
[5] soft clayey limestone.
[6] slate.

mixed with charcoall burneing upon the varie ground, lyeing in disordor and a la negligence, not in any kill.[1] They begine at one end of any heape, and haveing mixed a certaine quantitie of it just as so wee doe lyme and sand, they putt fyre to it at the furthest end from the heape, which being burnt neire to the heape, they mixed more, casting it to the end of the former, and so use to continue it untill all the heape be burnt sufficientlie.

March 9. All those severall stonnes are thus burnt before they goe to the fornace. Efter they are burnt they become some rid, some blackish, bot most part blewish ; and some of them crakes and ryves in the midle like dryed clay, or hard yron that will not wall [2] nor worke. The fornace is a blast fornace [3] of bot tuo bellies bot varie large ones, being about 13 or 14 footts long forby the head. Where the fyr yrones did enter into the fornace there was ane open hole about halfe a foote ovenlyke by which they did observe the temper of the fornace. The bellies at the bigger end wer some 2 foottes over.

March 9. They rose in the blast tuo foottes skarce. They were blowne with wyppers and suords [4] lyke our owne, onely instead of a baake [5] for raiseing of the bellies, everie one of them had a long vectis with a weght upon the end of it (such as we use to draw water with for salt pannes) which did both draw the blast long and raise the bellies. The exeltrie was above 2 foottes diameter, the waterwheel not above six semi diameter ; upon the which the water was lett in from the damme above by a slouse raised and depressed with a vectis lyke unto that of a shippe pumpe.

The fornace was about 20 footes high and above, the wydnes therof at the tope a foott and ane quarter and a foott and ane halfe long. About midle fornace, as I was informed, it was about 5 foottes wyde and sex foottes

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[1] open kiln.
[2] run together.
[3] Cf. Straker, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-83.
[4] The bellows, in pairs, were depressed alternately by a lug or cam (*wypper*) on the revolving shaft (*exeltrie*) ; on release, they were raised by a *suord* or rod conneeted to the overhead eounterbalance.
[5] baulk of timber.

long, and at the bottome againe about tuo foottes [1] wyde and 3 footts long, and the panne about a foott and ane halfe deepe. The blast was upon the brodsyde and about tuo foottes (*above* 5 handbroads) above the panne. At the ryght end of the panne and fornace was ane ergasterie [2] lyke unto ours, at the which the[y] did watch and pull out the slages. The end of the panne to my conjecture came about a foott and ane half square without the fornace, where the slagges wer drawen out and sturred to make them cleire of the metall with gavelockes [3] and porres,[4] such and as we doe watch our fornaces.

March 9. The slagge that comes fourth (which runnes out [5] in a certaine quantitie when they watche and open the mouth of the fornace, which they doe bot once in ane $\frac{1}{6}$ part of ane houre or therby, and therefter closes it againe by throwing before and upon it such small coall [6] dust as doeth imped the further flux therof) is brickell and blacke like gette,[7] brakeing in sharpe points and edges lyke flint or glasse. The metall is putt in above at the tope of the fornace layke as the charcoall also by turnes. So soone as the fornace is setled at the tope about foure foottes doune (which they measure with a staffe of that lenth hung at the end of ane uther because they can not come above the fornace to looke in for heatt) then they fill it up with coalle. And as that setles, which it does sensiblie and quicklie, they cast and heape one the metall above (which is only a litle knocked small with a fleggell [8] efter it is burnt) [9] bot on the one syde only, leiveing alwayes a litle free for vent on the uther syde. They fill her up thus, 15 or 16 [10] tymes in the 24 houres. They put 4 baskett of coalles (whereof I judged one to hold about ane halfe of our bolles) to 12 litle troches heaped full of metall; the

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[1] Figures inserted above to read: *In Liege about* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *foottes wyde and* 5 *footts long.*

[2] work hole, slag vent.

[3] iron crowbars.

[4] Cf. porring iron, poker. (Warrack.)

[5] *above* they draw.

[6] Throughout, charcoal.

[7] jet.

[8] iron sledge.

[9] Inserted above this parenthesis: *In Liege not burnt at all bot only mixed with lyme stonne for a flux.*

[10] 10, written above 15 or 16, refers to Liège.

troch would have been about 1½ footte long and ¾ footte broad. When the panne is full of metall they pearce ane hole at the end of it and letts it so runne out into the moulds that are reddie by prepared for it.[1]

March 9. Because they wer casteing ordinance heire,[2] they lett the fornace voyd bot once in the 24 houres. And everie 24 houres they cast a gunne of 2100 weight. I asked what they would take for the 100 of such worke as backes of chymnays [3] (intending to have cast some foreplates for my leid fornaces). They demanded 20 ss. bot said they could doe nothing without the maisters ordors, who wes some 10 myles off; his name is Broune.[4] The cheiffe melter said he had 20 ss. a weeke, the caster [5] als much; the under workemen to the number of 8, some 8 some 10 ss. They said the load of coalles conteineing 11 or 12 quarters did cost them threttie ss.; that the charges of that one milne would stand in some 2000 lib. a yeire; that ther fornace had burnt (*above* gone) these fourtie fyve weekes and never blowne doune, bot lyklie would be within these 10 day because they lacked coall; that when shee wer blowne doune they would make her yeeld metal againe efter 24 houres workeing, bot that shee would not come to her ryght temper in lesse then a mounthe.

Of all the aforesaid sorts of stones I tooke a litle with me to Tunbrige to be sent to Langlie. The foresaid fornace is built all of free stone and is some 3 foottes thicke at the mouth.

March 9. The bellies had no tewyron bot ther pype-ends

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[1] Inserted above this last sentence: *In Liege because they cast small worke, they take out the metall with ane yron ladell clayed.* For these 'interlynings', see *post*, p. 172.

[2] For the production of ordnance in this area, see Straker, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-68 and Chaps. xv, xvi; Charles ffoulkes, *The Gunfounders of England* (1937), chap. vi; *Victoria County History, Sussex*, ii, 246-9. To the gunfoundry sites traced by Straker and listed by ffoulkes, Barden can now be added.

[3] Along with iron grave tablets or slabs, a regular branch of the industry. *Wealden Iron*, pp. 168-176.

[4] John Browne of Brenchley; became official gunfounder to the Parliament after 1642, and continued to cast guns for the Commonwealth till his death in 1652. *Wealden Iron*, pp. 162-4; C. ffoulkes, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-6, 113, 118; *V.C.H., Kent*, iii, 386-7.

[5] moulder.

came not within ½ foott of the innersyde of the fornace. Efter that we came from the fornace, we went to see the pittes out of the which the yron metall is digged, which wer a litle on our right hand about midle way in our returne to Tunbridge. Bot ther had been none workeing ther of a long tyme, and all the holles wer runne togither; only I could conjecture so much, that they had never been above 12 or 16 footes deepe, and that the vaine (for I was informed that it lyes orderlie in a vaine) lyes flatte in some kynd, for I could see no appeirance of any leider,[1] wherein I was confermed by the many holes togither lyeing to the bradth.

March 9. The thickest of the vaine that I did see ther lyeing was not above halfe a footte thicke, all of it much lyke into a rid and yellow britle brattie[2] rotten rocke, which dissolved by lyeing in the weather into a clayie substance lyke marle.

I understood by the discourse of the workemen (for præsentlie understanding us to be Scottish men they wer (*sic. Read*? [and that] there wer) some works goeing to be sett up there) that both the cheeffe founder and moulder would have been content to have taken on with me; which they offerred to my brother; bot they wer most part drunke and I would not enter into discourse with them.

That night we returned againe to Tunbridge about 6 a clocke.

March 9. By the way on our returne we did see of the gunnes lyeing by the way. They are caried upon a cariage with foure wheelles lyke unto ther ordinarie chariots. Sex horses drawes tuo gunes upon one of them at a tyme and as I ame informed will go 16 mylles a day in winter and 24 in summer; bad winter way.

10 Teuseday. We came from Tunbridge to Maidstoune 12 mylles to dinner, and from that to Cittenburne[3] where wee lay all night at the Rid Lyon.

11 Wednsday. Wee parted from Cittenburne about 8

[1] See note under *mother*, p. 178, n. 2.
[2] ragged or scurfy.
[3] Sittingbourne.

a clocke and came to Canterberry to dinner at the Fleure de Lyce. From that wee came to Dover that night and lodged at the George in one Tourees house, a Scotshman who affirmed himselfe to be a brotherson of Enderleith.[1]

March 11. From a man of Sir Umphray Stylles's I informed my selfe of the forme of makeing of charcoall,[2] which is thus.

First they sett 3 stickes in triangle flatt upon the ground with halfe a foott of voyde in the midle, then to bigge[3] them about ane ell this high just as we euse to stacke dailles. Then they sett wood (all cutt of ane equall lenth about 3 foottes long) upon end about these so close as they can stand untill it be round about 10 foottes over or therby ; then they putt a peece of wood in the midle hole of the lenth of the rest straight up, which they call the pinner, and about it they place uther wood of the same lenth close togither, first somewhat inclyning, and then straight upon end as before, untill ther be as many placed as will convenientlie stand above the former. Thus being pyled up tuo storie high, they cover it first with braickes[4] or fairnes or strae some 3 or foure inches thicke. Then they putt in some fyre at the midle hole (haveing pulled out the pinner) and when the fyre is once taken with, presentlie putt in the pinner againe, and when the fyre beginnes to crakle and er the flamme doe brake fourth, they throw upon the cheime[5] or tope of it some sand or moulding earth, and as it burnes fast or slow they cast it on the more quicklie, covering her dounewards untill shee be all once full covered so that ther be no smocke perceaved to come out. Then immediately (leist shee should be altogither extinguished) they give her way first at the top by thrusting in a staffe thorow the dust to give her vent, bot so that no flame ishew ; and when shee is sufficientlie coaled, that is all become rid at the tope, which will be knowne by the blewness of the smocke, then

[1] On this claim he would be a nephew of Sir George Towers (Toures), laird of Inverleith.

[2] A closely parallel description is quoted *in extenso* by Straker, *op. cit.*, from Evelyn's *Sylva*, edn. 1679.

[3] build. [4] bracken. [5] Cf. Fr. cheminée.

they give her vent lower about halfe a footte, and when shee is coaled there also, ane uther halfe foott untill shee be coaled to the bottome. Note that these holes to give her way are made just round about the pyrimid, circle wyse, first about $1\frac{1}{2}$ footte distant, therefter the further doune the thicker halfeway, thencefourth æquallie to the ground.

March 11. When the smocke is thus broght doune to the ground, then it is all coalled. So immediatlie they pull off all the strae and cover with a raicke, so cleanlie as can bee, that it mix not with the coalle. And immediatlie making the sand so cleane of all the burnt strae or other cover as can be (the heape in the meane tyme being all in a rid fyre) they throw on the sand againe as thicke as can be so that ther be no vent left at all, and within 12 houres therefter shee will be fullie extinguished and smuthered out. Then they gather off the sand as before varie carefullie and puttes it in litle heapes to be made use of againe, for lyke moulding sand the oftner it be used the better it is. Note that ther must be liewes or skonses [1] as we call them to sett betuixt the wynde and the pyle or fyre, for the least wynd will blow all the fyre to one syde and it will not burne æquallie, bot indanger the losse of all. Note that they measur ther timber (being cutt in peeces of 3 footte long) by cordes of 12 foottes long and $3\frac{1}{2}$ foottes high. And fyve of thir cords will make a load, that is 60 seckes of charcoall, everie secke conteining 3 bushells. This charcoall is sold for 12d. a secke of that measure; so the load wilbe worth 3 lib. And the timber costs ordinarlie 5 or 6 ss. a cord, and the coalyer hes 4 ss. for his paines. So the halfe gained.

March 11. The aforesaid way is only for the charking of great coall or of wood half ane inch great and above. Bot for that which they call small coall they doe nothing bot efter that it is coalled (which it will be with the first fyre being confusedlie cast unto any heape) quench it with water.

This day also I gave ane note to Mr. Robert Steilles,

[1] wattle hurdles, shelter screens; V. lews, *Eng. Dialect Dict.*

Sir Umphraes brother, to be sent to Mr. Broune, maister of the foresaids yron milnes, to cause make to me tuo yron plaites for to be in place of forestonnes for my leid fornaces, each of them tuo inches thieke, 24 inches long and 20 inches broad, which he promised to have in reddiness for me at London against my return.

March 12 Thurseday. Not having found any shippes in the Dover goeing for Holland, bot onlie one barke of 40 or 50 tunne loaden with lyme, in the which I thoght it not safe to passe, the seas being foull, I went to the Douns or Daille [1] (so the toune is named) to enquyre for some occasione there and found a States man of warre, capitaine one Fra. Mangler [2] whom I mett with, bot was informed of him that he was not to part these 6 dayes; whom I resolved to attend. So I returned to Dover Castle to dinner, whither the companie in the which I was, Sir Umphra Steilles, his brother Robert, Sir Stephen Leonards,[3] my brother and I, wer invited be Major Boys,[4] governour therof.

March 13 Freidday. I went with the foresaid companie to the foxhunting.

14 Saterday. I parted from Dover with the aforesaid companie and the Governour of Dover and Mr. De la Barre,[5] coustumer of Dover, to the Daille Fort to dinner, whither wee wer invited be Capitaine Baten, Capt. therof and vice admiral of the whole Parliament shippes of before, bot now under the same name commander in chieffe, my Lord Warricke being called in to the Parlia-

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[1] Deal.

[2] Frans Mangelaer, a well-known Zeeland captain, fought nearly his whole life against the Dunkirkers while conducting merchant ships between the Atlantic and the North Sea. His greatest success was the capture of the Dunkirk pirate Jean Collaert off the Lizard, March 1661. He took part in the first Anglo-Dutch war, 1652-4.

[3] Son of Samuel Lennard, knight, of West Wickham, Kent; cr. baronet 1642. G.E.C. *Baronetage*, ii, 191.

[4] John Boys (b. 1605) of Fredville manor, par. of Nonington, Kent, Lieut. or Governor of Dover Castle 1646-8 in succession to his father Sir Edward Boys, M.P. for Dover. Wm. Berry, *Families of Kent*, p. 440; *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xxi, p. 234; xxx, pp. 81-2.

[5] The revocation of William de la Barr's patent as customer of Sandwich is noted in *Calendar of Treasury Books*, i (1660-67), p. 17.

ment.[1] Heire wee wer varie noblie intertained, and about 5 a clocke the rest of the companie returned to Dover and I came in to the Daille toune to attend passage. Lodged at one Mr. Smithes at the Kings Head.

March 15 Soneday. I went to the toune church about a myle off from it and heared one Mr. King,[2] minister therof preach, whom I found to be a varie habile man, and as I might collect from his straine a Presbiterian.

16 Moneday. I invited Capitaine Mangler to dinner with me.

17, 18, 19, Teuseday, Wednsday and Thursday. Wee stayed at the Daille attending our companie from London, whereof one had come and told that they had fallen upon a numbre of ther souldiers runaways at Gravesend, whom they had shipped to come hither and whom wee behooved to attend. Whille I attended heire, goeing to the feilds I went into one of ther windmilnes, which I observed and descryved in a paper apart.

20 March Freidday. Howbeit our souldiers wer not come, yett the wind being faire we hove about 8 a clocke in the morineing [and] sailed with intentione towards St. Margarets, hopeing to meette with them there. Wee came there about 11 of clocke bot they wer not come, so wee cast anchor there. About 2 a clocke in the efternoone first one [arrived] and then about ane houre therefter the uther tuo ; so wee sett saile againe about 3 a clocke, haveing in our companie some 8 uther small shippes, all without gunnes except one. About midnight the watch, haveing perceaved some 8 or 9 great shippes lyeing in our way, gave us the alarme ; so we gotte all up and the capitaine disposed the souldiers and made all reddie for the fight. When wee came neere, haveing challenged them, we found them to be freinds ; and they told us that the Admiralls sone of Dunkirke had taken the day before one

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[1] For Captain William Batten and Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, v. *D.N.B. sub vocc.*

[2] Ezekias or Hezekiah King, M.A., rector of Deal from 1629 ; espoused the Parliamentary side ; appointed Sept. 1646 to the sequestrated rectory of Fowlmere, from which he was ejected in 1662 for non-conforming. Died c. 1678. J. Laker, *History of Deal*, 59, 227.

of ther marchant shippes, and that they being men of warre of Zeeland had fallen upon the Dunkirker and taken him and his pryze both, and that they wer now carieing them to Vlissingen. So we sett on and they followed us, and when they came forgainst Vlissingen, traileing the colors of ther pryzes at ther starnes, they shott above ane 100 peece of canon.

March 21 Saterday. Wee arryved at Vlissingen about 2 a clocke in the efternoone; from thence I went immediatlie by cheriot to Midleburgh, and lodged at Mr. Vanhoghts.

23 Moneday. I dyned with Mr. Lefebver.

24 Teuseday. I came to Campheer alias Treveer, and returned againe to Midleburgh at night.

25 Wednsday. I did view the toune of Midleburgh, and the most curious clocke that is there.

26 Thurseday. I dyned againe with Mr. Lefebvre, and did goe to the house of discipline.

27 Freidday. Compted with Mrs. Lefebvre and Vanhoght, and efter they had given me ane accompt of all that they could crave of me, I thinkeing it not conscionable to deteine the advancement that I had without interest, thogh so dew to me be our contract, did desyre to be superadded to my charge 974 merks.[1] And haveing at the same tyme receaved from them ane 100 lib. great,[2] my wholle charge did amont to £16621.6.8d., besydes some 15 or 16 lib. sterling which was by my ordor debursed for a salt and ane dozen of spoons for Mr. Vanhoghts wyfe be Mr. Tirens in London, bot not now past upon my accompt because not liquid. All this conforme to ane accompt given to me subscryvit by R. Lefebvre and written be Mr. Blondell, his serviteur.

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[1] See statement of this 'compt' in Appendix. The first two items of interest there shown amount to £649, 6s. 8d. Scots, or 974 merks.

[2] The par of exchange between London and Amsterdam revolved around 37½ ss. Flemish (Vlaamsh), or great, to the £ sterling. (N. W. Posthumus, *Rates of Exchange at Amsterdam, 1609-1914*, Leiden, 1946, p. 583.) This gives, as here, an exchange rate of £640 Scots or 960 merks to the £100 great. In the Hope MS. Letter Books the rate varies from 1000 and 1010 to as high as 1050 merks for £100 great, the common unit of reckoning.

27 March Freidday. This day I parted from Midleburgh to Campheere [1] by waggone, being of intentione for Holland. I lodged in Mr. Arnots, Maister of the Scots house theire,[2] where ther supped with me the Conservitor [3] Mr. Cunighame,[4] Mr. Vanhoght and Robert Gryson, etc. At my parteing from Midleburgh I gave of drinking mony to Mr. Lefebvres 3 servants 14 ss. 6d. st. and to Mr. Vanhoghts tuo maids £1 st. and to ther workers at the milnes in brayeing of ther oare, being 5 persons, £1 st. And to Mr. Lefebvres wyfe Anna Buzro [5] ane silver salt weighing 31 oz. English, cost 5 ss. 3d. the oz. is £8.2.6d., togither with 6 paire gloves whytte and colored and 1 paire freinged that cost 17 ss. 9d. st.; togither is in all £9 st.

March 27. More I gave to Mr. Vanhoghts wyfe ane silver tanker weighing 25 oz. ½ English, cost at 5 ss. 6d. per oz.; £7 st. Item a dozen paire of gloves to her selfe, 6 paire to her sister, colored and whytte, cost £1.11.6d. st. Item to her doghters 4 paire ribbaned gloves 10 ss. and 24 yds. severall sorts ribbanes 13 ss. 6d., and 6 paires to her sones 5 ss. In the haille £10 sterling.

28 Saterday. I went to visite Ja[mes] Eleis [6] factor there at his house, who efter a complement regrateing that he had not the happines to have aggried with me for my leidoare, in discourse told me that the English oare is not neere so good as our Scottish oare, because not so cleine and therefor that those of Roterdame that have most part

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[1] Or Veere, on north of Walcheren Is., Zeeland. See N. Roseboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands* (1910); Davidson and Gray, *The Scottish Staple at Veere* (1909), *passim*.

[2] The Conciergery House, an inn maintained for the reception of Scottish merchants living at or visiting the port. James Arnot, a factor, was appointed warden in 1642. *Journal of Thomas Cunningham of Campvere*, p. xxiv; Davidson and Gray, *op. cit.*, 405-415.

[3] The central figure in the organisation and control of the Staple. Davidson and Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-10, 361 ff.

[4] Thomas Cunningham, appointed Conservator by the Committee of Estates in 1644, also Agent for the Affairs of Scotland in the Low Countries. See his *Journal*.

[5] Anna Buysero. There was a prosperous merchant family of that name in Middelburg.

[6] Burgess and gildbrother of Edinburgh, along with Cunningham, June 1647. For his trading activities and usefulness to the Scottish Estates in the supply of arms and ammunition, see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. xiv, 53-55.

of the English oare doe buy from Mrs. Vanhoght and Lefebver Scottish oare to vent the English; that they gett now about 8 florins for the 100 lib. of great oare, and alwayes 10 stuvers [1] more for grind oare; that he beleives that the milnes are only upon Mr. Vanhoghts charges, and that he only hes the benefite of the grounding; that if he had aggried with me, he had intentione to have made one of his oyle milnes a leidmilne. So he tooke me thorow his house and shewed me 2 oyle milnes.

Mar. 28. They were first lyke unto our ordinarie pouder milnes or Mr. Vanhoghts leidmilnes, consisting of tuo stones turned upon edge, with the which they bray the seed whereof they make the oyle; bot besydes that, the statute exeltrie hes a wheelle upon the over end of it which moves a long exeltrie by a timpane, which exeltrie hes upon the further end of it ane uther large tympane of 3 fuzees [2] only, which did lift and lett fall tuo great stampers or beatters, the one whereof did bate one wage to close the presse and force out the oyle which was receaved in tuo dishes below the presse; and the seeds being sufficientlie pressed, that stamper by the turning of a warrand was made fast and the uther lett lousse, which did bate ane contrarie wege to the former wherby the presse was opened againe and the pressed seedes taken out and fresh ones putt in. The great exeltrie also had ane uther small wheill (betuixt the tuo foresaids fusees) which turned ane uther exeltrie which also turned ane fourth small statute exeltrie, at the nether end whereof was a croce of 2 footte diameter, which turned into a copper panne sett upon a lent fyre, wherein the seeds efter they wer brayed and before they wer putt to the presse wer by the turneing of the croce sturred about untill they wer made hote, to make them yeeld the oyle the better. Out of this panne the seeds wer putt into small woullen pocks $1\frac{1}{2}$ footte long and $\frac{1}{2}$ footte broad, which pockes wer foulded about longwayes with a band of the bread therof consisting the inner syde of haircloath and the utter syde of lether,

[1] Hope's form of stuivers.
[2] A drum with three cams or lifters.

whereof tuo thus folded wer putt into the presse at one tyme, one in each syde of the wages (which wer placed in the midst) betuixt first plattes of yron, then tuo square cuttings of timbre, ansuerable as the lenth of the presse did requyre.

Mar. 28. So that this milne attended by one only man at a tyme, and moved by one horse, does grind the seed, warme it being grund, and expresse the oylle, all by one and the same labour. The seed whereof they ordinarlie make this oylle (which for the most part is for lampes) is our ordinarie kaille seed ; hee said that everie milne will make 60 Scots pynts in a day. The seeds efter they are prest they sell for the ordinarie food of milke kyne. Of this milne I have delineat the icnographie (*sic*) in a paper by it selfe.

This day also the said James Eleis and Mr. William Spang,[1] the Scots minister of Campheere, dyned with me. He told me that the most exquisite Assay Maister in all the Low Cuntrayes is at Dort called (blank).

He shewed me also the cartes of the most part of the shyres of Scotland, bot not as yett perfected ; he told me that Bleau at Amsterdame is the doer of them,[2] and desyred me to goe to him when I come there.

He told me also that the most exquisite prospect maker in all the Low Countrayes is one Mr. Evard in Delfe, who makes prospects that with a litle turneing doe serve to all sights and all distances : ordinarie pryce therof 4 dollers.

March 30 Moneday. Haveing dynned with Robert Grisson facteur at Campheer, halfe ane houre past one a clocke in the efternoone wee parted from thence towards Dort ; the wind being faire wee went upon the east syde of

[1] Rev. William Spang, M.A. (1607-1664), appointed to Veere, Jan. 1630, by the Commissioners of the Burghs (*Records*, iii, 306-8), was a cousin of Robert Baillie, who sent him a large part of the correspondence contained in his *Letters and Journals*. For the Scots Church in Veere and Spang's ministry there, see Davidson and Gray, *op. cit.*, 278-299 ; Scott's *Fasti*, vii, 547-8 ; Baillie, *op. cit.*, i, pp. cxi-cxiii.

[2] Spang was a correspondent of Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet in his projected publication in Holland of the maps of the Scottish counties, based on original sources. When completed these formed the fifth vol. of Jan Blaeu's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1654) and sixth vol. of his *Atlas Major*, republished at Amsterdam in 1662. *Spalding Club Misc.*, i, 52-54 ; Baillie, *op. cit.*, i, 368 ; H. W. Meikle, *Some Aspects of Later 17th Century Scotland*, 23-25, and notes.

the yles, and if the wind had continued wee had come to Dort that night, bot it calmed, the tydes turned, and the night came one darke, so wee wer forced a litle efter 7 to cast anchor, and wee lay all that night foregainst Wilmstadt. The nixt morneing about 5 a clocke wee sett saill againe thogh the wind still calme. So

March 31 Teuseday, about 9 a clocke we came to Dordreght alias Dort. Wee vewed the toune so much as could be untill 4 a clocke. Then wee enquyred for the assayour of the Mint, who came to our lodgeing to us (which was at one Cornelius Boeffe at the Angel neire Rietdyke port), bot after discourse (which was be the mediatione and interpretatione of Mr. Vanhoght, who would needs accompanie me thorow Holland) wee understood that it was not that man of whom Mr. Spang had spocken, bot that he was dead, and that this man Vanderbeake [1] had succeeded in his place. However by discourse with him I understood that his practice is to reduce the gold to 7 carat fine for the assay; that he takes 20 or 21 grains for the assay makeing; that he is of the opinione that the gold by the water is reduced to utter fynne without the leist residue of silver; that in the makeing of the assay he putts it into the water before it boylle; that he thinkes the copell well made drinkes in no silver.

At night came accidentallie to the same house wher I was Captaine Alexander Bruce of Airth,[2] of whom efter discourse I found that he had still a mynd for our ryght of Airth from my brother Kerses children,[3] bot that dureing the troubles he could doe nothing.

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[1] Anthonis van der Beeck, assayer of the Dutch Mint, 1636-1666. His predecessor was Anthonis Heinriexz van Ommeren, who already held the post in 1594. (Information from Prof. J. G. van Dillen.)

[2] Eldest son of Sir John Bruce of Airth, commissioned captain in the Scots Brigade, 1635, and remained in that service for the next thirty years. *The Scots Brigade in Holland*, S.H.S., i, 467, 489; Major Wm. Bruce Armstrong, *The Bruces of Airth*, pp. 19-22 and App.

[3] From Sir John Bruce the lands and barony of Airth passed through successive owners till in 1639 they were apprised to Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, and after his death in 1643 were still held by the family. Captain Bruce, who had married a Dutch lady of means, Anna van Eck, was able to re-acquire the barony from the Hopes in 1648. (*R.M.S.*, ix, 1966.) See Thomas McGrouther in *Transactions of the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society*, Dec. 1927.

Apr. 1 Wednsday. In componie with Captaine Bruce we went by cheriot to Gorcum,[1] whither went also in our companie one Arch^de Ereskine, a sone of Carbudoes in the North,[2] whom we rencontered in the boat comeing for Dort, and who accompanied us all the way comeing hither, where wee left him. I found him to be a young man of a good spirit, had past bot tuo yeeres in the college, bot profected well, and still desyrous to follow his booke, and that he had litle or no meanes left him by his parents and therfor was seekeing some occasione under the which he might prosequute his studie. So that albeit that I had a great mynd for him to awaytte upon me and to prosequutte my way of studie, and to that purpose did offer him £100 Scots by yeere togither with his intertainement at my owne table, and therupon found him almost willing to embrace it, yet considereing that he was of such parentage as would possiblie not aggrie to such a course and that it wer a pitie to interrupt in any way the course of his studies so long as he could find any meanes to double them out, whereof I found him not as yett altogither destitute, I therefor forbore to presse the offer; only at parteing (for heire we left him under a resolutione to goe shortlie to France) I did in a complementall way desyre him, that if things did not goe with him to his expectatione, he might have his recourse to me, to whom he should be varie welcome in the aforesaid termes. Wee came from Dort to Gorcum in 4 houres; from Gorcum we parted at 2 a clocke by chariot and passed thorow Vianen and came to Utrich that night, where [we] stayed and vewed the toune untill the nixt day at 1 a clocke. Heire I mette with Mr. Lefebvres wyfes brother the painter.

Apr. 1. In Gorcum I did first see the inventione of the

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[1] or Gorkum, Gorinchem.

[2] A younger son of George Erskine (d. 1647), 2nd of Kirkbuddo in Angus, who was a grandson of John Erskine, Superintendent of Angus and 5th Laird of Dun. (Information kindly made available by Mrs. Francis Jackson, Kirkbuddo.) See *Retours*, *Forfar*, 197, 318, 516; V. Jacob, *The Lairds of Dun*, 125-6 and App. A.

weiveing of narrow knittings,[1] 20 of severall sorts at one tyme, whereof I have sett the discriptione so neire as I could upon a short vew in a paper by it selfe.

2 Thurseday. Wee parted from Utrech at one a clocke by water in the commone passage boatt drawne by one horse, which we changed tuyce, and came to Amsterdame about 8 a clocke and lodged in one Mr. Moores at the signe of the Lejsveltse Byble[2] in Warmerstreet, being ane ordinare.

3 Freidday. I dyned with one Matthew Heufft, a cousine of Mr. Vanhoghts, ane rich man of 400,000 lib.

Apr. 4 Saterday. I went to Janneson,[3] Elzevir[4] and some uther booke choppes, bot found them varie deare, yett I boght some. I went also to the Jewes Synagoge and did see all ther ceremonies.

5 Soneday. I went in the forenoone to the Frenche and in the efternoone to the English church.[5]

6 Moneday. I wrett to my wyfe with the ordinarie. I went thorow a great many of ther houses of charitie, and in the efternoone went to see ane of ther commedies, Rodrigo and Ducke of Ferrara. The commedie was noghtelie acted, bot they acted a farce in the end varie well.

Apr. 7 Teuseday. I went and did see some waterworkes of recreatione[6] that are exposed in privat houses to be seene for mony, and went by boatt about a part of the

[1] The ribbon loom or Dutch engine loom (not power driven) operated up to twenty or more shuttles for the making of tapes, ribbons, gartering, etc. Introduced into England c. 1616, this 'devilishe invention' was fiercely resisted by the domestic workers there, as also in Holland, and was subjected in each country to government restriction, though evasion persisted. G. N. Clark, *The Seventeenth Century* (1953), pp. 64-5; Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade in Industrial Lancashire* (1931), pp. 98-106.

[2] The earliest complete Bible in Dutch was printed by Jacob van Liesvelt at Antwerp in 1526. His last edition in 1542 cost him his life. *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles*, Darlow & Moule (1911), II, 300-1.

[3] Johannes Janssonius (1588-1664), for some time a rival of Blaeu in the field of cartography.

[4] Louis Elzevir, son of Isaac of Leyden, printed at Amsterdam alone 1640-55, when he was joined by Daniel, son of Bonaventure.

[5] For both churches see Sir Wm. Brereton, *Travels in Holland, England, Scotland and Ireland, 1634-5*, Chetham Soey., Vol. i, 43-4. The minister of the English church 1639-46 was Thomas Paget, son of the first incumbent in 1607. *Fasti*, vii, 537-8.

[6] There is a lively account of one of these in Brereton, *op. cit.*, 56-7.

toune to see the shippes without; and came to ane Isle called Waterland, and dyned in a village there.

8 Wednsday. I was conducted by Jacob Scott a Dutchman, bot who declares himselfe to be come of Scots parents of the Douglasses, to the house of one Peter Hexe a Germaine who is a refynere of metalls and tryell (*sic*) of mineralles, to whom he and some uther Dutchmen, intended partiners of a leidmyne discovered in Cologne, had given a peace of oare to be tryed. When wee came to his house wee found it dimolished and him about the rebuilding of it so that his workehouse was all out of ordor that I could see nothing. Only I observed in a barrell a great quantitie of brasse slagge, as he termed it; however it was slagge and lyklie also of that kind. He shewed me also severall peeces of oares whereof I did take some with me; amongst the which I had a peece of the aforesaid leidoare of Colone which he affirmed to hold 12 lottes of silver in 72 lib. weight. By his language, which was in Wallouns which I did not understand perfectlie, I could learne nothing; besydes that he was varie reserved, yet upon what I did see and heare I conjectured him to have skill.

9 Thurseday. I was invited to Thomas Mortounes house [1] to dinner, of whom I had gotten notice the day before only, and of Fr. Roy [2] the Dutchman that was in Scotland and made the salpeter and who had operat with me some chymicall preparations in my house in Ed^{r}. I went to his fathers house without the ports, besyde the oxe market at the signe of the Salamander.

Apr. 9. There in his labaratore I did see him a makeing salpeter and places and toolles for refyneing of suggar and extracting of oyles and spirites, at which tyme he was only extracting of the oyle of vitriole; he worked all in earthen retorts and recipients of about gallon capacitie. This day efter dinner I went with Fr. Roy to a chamber of his in ane uther place there to make ane assay of the a foresaid oare of Coloine partelie for my owne, bot speciallie for Mr. Vanhoghts satisfactione, to whom with Mr. Lefebvre

[1] Scottish merchant resident in Amsterdam. V. Appendix.
[2] Frans Rooy.

was offered a $\frac{1}{4}$ part of those workes, to the which the[y] behoved to contribute presentlie 300 lib. flor.[1]

Of this oare I tooke tuo French ounces; with the one I mixed a litle salpeter and tarter brayed and prepared togither by burneing, with the uther I mixed none. This I putt first in a crusett before the bellies, bot efter a competent tyme being taken out, it was not seperat the recrement from the metaille. The uther I putt in and efter halfe ane houres blast being taken out, the metall was sufficientlie gathered because of the flux, and it did yeeld $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. pure leid. Of this, not haveing a center weight, I tooke tuyce 6 den[iers] weighing above a $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. the peace, and passed them upon tuo severall copelles in ane assay fornace which was there, of the which came tuo small graines of silver, which being compared togither weighed exactlie alyke, and togither did weigh the $\frac{1}{8}$ part of one of these assay grains wherof I had taken 12 deniers. So that of 2304 parts of leid it did conteine one part of silver only; whereas it was reported by Peter Hexe to conteine 12 lotes in the 72 lib. weight, which is just 2304 lotes at 32 lottes per lib.; so that by his report it should hold preceislie tuelve tymes more than I found it, which I ame confident was most exactlie performed;[2] of the which oare and leid I have as yet a litle remaineing.

10 Apr. Freidday. I was invited to dinner be Jacob Scott. Efter dinner I went to enquyre for a sable muffe for my wyfe, bot could find none extraordinarie good; yett for one that I did find I offerred 22 lib. great, bot they held it at 28 lib.[3]

11 Saterday. I went to the Assay Maisters of the banke of Amsterdame to buy a fornace and ane say ballance which with its piller and weights and corne tongs he esteimed at 50 florines or gilders. I gave ordor to Fra. Roy

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[1] V. *post*, pp. 164, n. 1; 184, n. 2.

[2] Hope's calculation is based on 12 deniers, or $\frac{1}{2}$ oz., the equivalent of a *lote*. There are 2304 half-ounces in 72 lb., which amount of ore, Hexe claimed, would yield 12 lotes or 6 oz. of silver. Hope found only $\frac{1}{8}$ of a grain in his 12 deniers, which equals 4 grains in a lb. or $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. in 72 lb.—exactly $\frac{1}{12}$ of Hexe's estimate.

[3] Approx. £141 and £179 Scots.

to offer 36 lib.[1] only, for they did not lyke me varie well. This day Mr. Vanhoght invited to dynne with me one Jean Meinershagen a wyne marchand in the Province and Citie of Colonia,[2] and maister of some leid workes there, of whom I was informed that his oare was all in small lyke sand in bigness bot of a leid color, and mixed with a whyte sand; that it lay not in a vaine bot that the wholle montaine, as it wer, wer all of it; that as they wroght it they left great pillers to underprope the ground, whereby I understood it to be vena dilatata, and possiblie also cumulata,[3] because he said that they tooke nather hanger nor liger [4] with them. He told me that ther fornaces wer great, some 7 or 8 foottes high, $2\frac{1}{2}$ foottes broad and 3 foottes long, the backe end and tuo sydes bigged [5] 3 or 4 foottes thicke, and will lest unaltered ane yeere; the foresyde somewhat thinne which will lest bot a weeke at most, and is taken doune to make cleane the fornace and rebuilt all of a frie sandie stonne. It hes no opening before, bot onlie neire the bottome ane small hole at the which the metall being smelted runnes out into a sompe before it; out of the which also being once filled to such a measure, it runnes out into a by sompe, out of the which it is taken and cast into barres or sowes; that the metall and charcoall (for that is the fewell they use) are cast in at the fornace above and never is suffered to runne out againe, nor cast up in the fornace for that tyme, bot runeing out liquid by litle at the foresaid hole (for it is almost all closed up with coalles) the slagge suiming above is separated from the metall and if it be found still to conteine metall is prepared againe for the fornace. That some of there oare does conteine 70 in the C. out of the which in the 24 houres they can not draw above 9 or 10 hundereth of leid; bot out of that which caries bot about

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[1] £36 Scots, the £ Scots and the Dutch florin or guilder being regularly equated. At Antwerp he got a balance and pertinents for £32 Scots, V. App.

[2] Cologne.

[3] Terms now obsolete used, e.g., by Georgius Agricola in his *De re metallica* (1556) to define certain types of ore-deposit.

[4] neither headwall nor footwall.

[5] built.

50 in the C. they will draw betuixt 20 and 30 hundreth in the 24 houres, which would be considered [blank].

Apr. 11. He promised further to send to Mr. Vanhoght to be sent to me whatever workemen he could spare or fall upon, speciallie a good smelter.

This day also I gave 19 gilders 10 stuvers to Thomas Mortunne to buy me 6 of the English bibles that are newlie heire printed [1] and sold for 25 st. and to cause bind them in shaggerine gilded in the leives for 40 stuvers the peiec, for the which I aggried with the binder; and send them home to me with the first occasione.

14 Teuseday. I parted from Amsterdame at 3 a clocke, and came to Harlame about 6 a clocke by water.

Apr. 15 Wednsday. Wee parted from Harlame at 1 a clocke and came to Leiden about 6, where wee lodged at the Golden Lyon.

16 Thurseday. There I did see the universitie and the anatomie house. I mette also with Dr. Stewart professor of Phylosophie,[2] and with a brother sone of Sir Johne Sinclares,[3] James Arnots [4] sone and Johne Learmond the wrytters sone, all students in the universitie.[5]

This day in the efternoone wee parted from thence about 3 and came to the Hauge about 6 a clocke, where wee ludged at the signe of the Suane neere the Court. And that

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[1] See Darlow and Moule, *op. cit.*, Pt. I (English), p. 200, no. 453.

[2] Dr. Adam Stewart, or Steuart (1591-1654), came from London to Leyden in 1644. His son, David, was entered in the Faculty of Theology there, 5 May 1645. V. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae* (Leyden, 1875), p. xlii. Also Baillie, *op. cit.*, iii, 7; W. T. Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual* (Bohn, 1864), iii, p. 2511.

[3] Sir John Sinclair of Stevenston, prosperous merchant burgess of Edinburgh and dean of guild; cr. baronet 18 Jan. 1646. See G.E.C. *Baronetage*, ii, 421.

[4] Possibly James Arnot, Edinburgh merchant and shipper. See *Extr. Bur. Rec. Edin.*, 9 Feb. 1638.

[5] In the above *Album* are the enrolments in the Faculty of Law, 6 Sept. 1645, of Mag. Thomas Leermontius, and Mr. Robertus Sintclarus, both aged 21.

Robert Sinclair (1624-78), son of James Sinclair of Longformacus, was admitted advocate 9 July 1647; Dean of Faculty 23 June 1664; cr. baronet 10 Dec. 1664; M.P. for Berwickshire 1665, 1667, 1669-74. V. *Douglas Baronage*, p. 251. Thomas Learmonth, admitted advocate 14 Jan. 1648. The name Arnot does not appear, but a Gulielmus Arnoldus, Scotus, aged 22, enrolled in the Faculty of Medicine 15 Sept. 1644, was possibly the same William Arnot who graduated at Edinburgh in 1642.

same night wee did see the Queen of Bohemia,[1] her 3 doughters and youngest son Prince William[2] suppe altogither at one table.

Apr. 17 Freidday. I went first to salute one Mr. Rosse,[3] the Princesse Royalls sewer, and delyvered him letters from his brother in law Dr. Primrose in London.[4] Then I went to Mr. Buzro, Mrs. Lefebvres brother, secretaire (*above* griphire) to the Prince Orange.[5]

At 12 a clocke wee did see the Princesse Royall[6] dinne, who dyned all alone in one house and was served a la Raine ; and in ane uther house nixt to her the old prince[7] (for the young prince[8] was gone to the countray) and with him at table uther three, one the governour of a toune, the uther tuo souldiers, with their heads covered. Nather was he served bot as one of our noblemen, bot that those that came in and satt not wer all discovered, and that the uthers satt a litle distance from him.

In the efternoone we went out in a wagone and did see the princes tuo houses, the one 3 mylles off called Huntselerdijk and the uther one called Rijswijck, tuo riche and brave buildings speciallie in pictures, stairecaces and pavements of marble and uther stonne, and timbre also wroght in figures as our glasse windowes uses to be. Mr. Buzro sent a clerke of his with us to shew us them.

Apr. 18 Saterday. We went and gotte tuo passes from the Estaits, one for Mr. Vanhoght and ane uther for me and man to goe into the enemies contray, being of intentione for Liege to see some workes there, to the which purpose I had desyred Mr. Lefebvre to send to Bruissells for tuo passes to us from the King of Spaines Generall, General-

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[1] Elizabeth (1596-1662), dau. of James I of Great Britain.

[2] Her youngest son was named Philip.

[3] Probably Johan Rosier, sewer at that time in the Hague.

[4] James Primrose, distinguished physician. V. *D.N.B.*

[5] Mr. Laurens Buysero, knight, squire of Dussen-Muilkerk and other estates, was counsellor, auditor, and secretary to the Prince of Orange ; ob. 1674.

[6] Mary, dau. of Charles I, married May 1641, to William, son of Frederick Henry.

[7] Frederick Henry, 1584-1647.

[8] William (1626-1650), son of Frederick Henry and Amalia von Solms; afterwards Stadtholder of Holland.

lissimo of the Lowcountrayes,[1] which were now also come to our hands; what thir did cost I know not, bot wee payed 30 florines for the uther tuo, 10 florines everie persone. So wee parted from the Hague about 10 a clocke by water and came to Delfe to dinner, from whence wee parted againe at 5 a clocke and came by water also to Rotterdame about 7 a clocke, where I lodged with Henry Nisbitt.[2]

20 [3] Soneday, finding it be ane Communione day in our Scottish church there, I desyred to lay hold upon the opportunitie, bot the minister [4] made scruple to admitte me unless I should subscryve (according to the ordor of that church) the Scottysh Covenant, which I promised to doe and did in the efternoone, bot that which they presented unto me was of the 38 and not of the 42 [5] yeire of God.

20 Apr. Moneday. Heire also I mette with Johne Rind [6] and his wyfe with whom I (being to part towards Liege) did leive untill my returne my clocke bagge with tuo clockes,[7] a seutt of clothes, ane hatte and some lineings in it, and in the litle pocketts of my clothes my motione watch, my purse with 10 quadrouple pistolles [8] and 6 Jacobuses,[9] three diamond rings, tuo of them of one stonne of a midle syze, and the 3th of one large stonne and two litle ones besyde it; and my cachet sett in a ringe. [*Note in margin*: All thir a got backe at my returne.] Heire also I did meett

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[1] Emmanuel de Moura Cortercal, Marquis of Castel Rodrigo.

[2] Henry Nisbet, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, deacon 1645-47 in the Scottish church, Rotterdam. Rev. Wm. Steven, *History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, p. 369.

[3] *rectius* 19.

[4] Rev. Alexander Petrie, first minister (1643-1662) of the newly established Scottish church in Rotterdam. Steven, *op. cit.*; *Fasti*, iv, p. 243; vii, pp. 549-550.

[5] The Solemn League and Covenant. 42 should be 43.

[6] Merchant burgess and former bailie (1630, 1635) of Edinburgh. Elder 1647-9 in the Scottish church, Rotterdam. (Steven, *op. cit.*, p. 368.) Married 2ndly, Janet Mackale, 10 Dec. 1634.

[7] cloaks.

[8] The Spanish gold pistole was valued at 16s. 6d.-17s. 6d. stg. In the *Records of Conv. of Royal Burghs*, iii, 666-7, the quadruple pistole was to 'pass at 42 pund Scotts.' (1676.)

[9] The Scottish £12 piece, the gold unite or double angel of James VI.

with Alexander Speire,[1] and was informed that Johne Hendersone [2] did remaine there bot was gone to the Hague the day before I come there. 20 Apr. This day in the morneing also Mr. Gerards (who was in Scotland in the 41 yeire of God and delt with me for a bargane of my leidoare) came to my chambre and welcomed me to the toune, and invited me to dinner, and Mr. Vanhoght with me. So wee went with him and there came to us ane uther of Rotterdame Companie leidoare partiners named Isaacke Paulis, be whom wee wer varie kyndlie intertained. At dinner they fell in discourse of ane ouverture that Mr. Vanhoght had proponed to them that day (whereof he also had given me notice) which was, that seeing ther wer bot tuo companies of that trade,[3] and that by ther oppositione and divisione they wronged one ane uther and spoyled the trade, that therfor now at last they should joine togither in one Companie to the which I found them willing. Bot heire was the difference, that Mr. Vanhoght seing he had the wholle Scottish oare, and as he alledged the halfe of the Waillish, he would have for him and his partinare more then the halfe of the stocke or trade. And they seeing, as they affirmed, they (being 6 in companie) had for the present the halfe of the Waillish leidoare, and were asseured to have it all shortlie, and that at £4.5 ss. st. the tunne, paying customs and beireing all charges, they were able to sell it 2 lib. fleimes in the 100 lib. weight cheaper then Mr. Vanhoght could the Scottish oare, and so wer confident at lenth to worke them out of the trade. Therefor they would either have the halfe of the stocke and trade, or els they would make no aggriement. Thus they reasoned long and squarelie, and left it so to be advysed upon by both.

So at 3 a clocke we tooke boatt and the wind being faire

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[1] Edinburgh bailie, 1634-5; suspended, June 1642, by Convention of Burghs from being factor in the Low Countries. *Extr. Rec. Bur. Edin., 1642-55*, p. 11.

[2] Possibly John Henryson, m. Elspeth Stirling, Dec. 1638; merchant burgess, 3 Aug. 1642; died July 1658.

[3] Messrs. Robert Lefebvre and Francis Vanhoght (Middelburg) and Messrs. Isaac Paulis and Gerard Nienhove (Rotterdam).

wee came the lenth of Dort by 5, and to Goreum against 7 a cloeke, being 7 ligges, where wee stayed all that night not finding occasione to goe further.

21 Teuseday. About 7 a cloeke wee tooke boatte for Bulduck [1] utherwyse called the Bolch; whither came about three a cloeke, being 9 ligges. About a ligge from it went to the fort Crevecoeure.[2]

Apr. 21. Heere I mett with Captaine Bruce [3] who addressed me to Major Murrayes,[4] who was varie kynd and earnest to have us to lodge with him. At our entrie to the toune wee were caried to the Commander [5] (who is nixt in command efter the Governour [6] who was not in toune) whose Secretarie demanded our passes to be signed by his Mraister, beireing the day when wee passed there; which we gotte done about 8 a cloeke and payed therfor 4 ss. fl[eimes] for everie passe. In the meane whyll we went and vewed the toune and Citiedaille which is newlie built [7] there, which I passed [8] to bee, the courtine 200, the flanke 50 and the [blank] 110 of my feette, the wholle a regulare pentagone of 5 bastions, everie bastione haveing a litle house built within it for a court de guard, and at the point a litle round turritt of free stonne for a watchhouse; the walles some 30 foottes high all of bricke, exeept the coinzies of free stonne. Wee lodged heire at the Kaiser.

22 Wednseday. Wee parted in a carre of one horse (that is a good Scots carte bot covered round with a clothe) about 8½ a cloeke (being a most stormie day for weette and wind) and came 6 ligges to Eyndhoven about 3½ a cloeke, where we dynned and parted againe about 5 a cloeke and came 2 ligges to a village Leende about 8 a cloeke, where wee lodged all night.

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[1] Hertogenbosch or Bois-le-Duc.

[2] Crèvecœur, on the Maas, 3 miles north of Hertogenbosch.

[3] V. p. 159, n. 2.

[4] Walter Murray of the Scots Brigade, son of Sir John Murray of Blackbarony. Appointed Captain 1627; promoted Major before Rammekens, 15 May 1640; retired 1667. *Scots Brigade in Holland*, S.H.S., i, 322 n. 4, 466.

[5] Jhr Filips van Thienen.

[6] Johan Wolfard van Brederode, later Field-marshal.

[7] It dates from 1637. [8] paced.

Apr. 23 Thurseday. Wee parted from the Leende about 4 a clocke M[1] and came to the Bree about 10 a clocke, being 5 long ligges ; where we refreshed our selves, and parted againe betuixt 11 and 12 and came unto Maestricht about 7 a clocke at night.

Note that as we parted from the Leende wee mette ane of the Kings souldier[s] with a carabine in his hand, who said nothing to us bot seased upon a Francheman who was goeing by us upon foott ; haveing beene in the Staites service he made him pay 8 florines for his ransome, and so dimitted him with a passe for 7 dayes. About ane houre therefter we rencountored uther fyve who efter they had posed us from when[ce] we wer demanded somewhat to drinke, which wee gave them and they parted.

At our comeing to Maestricht wee wer led to the Commanders lodgeing, and efter enquyrie what and from whence we wer, wee wer dismissed : wee vewed the toune that night and the nixt day morneing untill 9 a clocke. At which tyme,

24 Freidday, wee parted from Maestricht by water for Liege in a great boatt drawen with 4 horses. When wee came about midle way we behoved to send our Spanish passeports a land to a forte of the Kings [2] (upon the east syde of the water of the Maese which wee wer now upon) called the Elve, and wee wer arraitted untill they wer returned to us subscryved be the Governour as the uther wer before at Bulducke.

25 Apr. Saterday. Wee went ane houres walkeing from Liege up the water of the Maese, and did see first tuo milnes for cutting of yron into small stringes or virges of $\frac{1}{4}$ inche square or therby. They have each of them tuo large water wheelles, ther exeltrees about 12 or 15 distant (*sic*), each of them tuo inner wheelles of some 4 foottes diameter placed directlie forgainst uther, each of which did turne a fused tympane [3] of 2 foottes diameter ; the exeltrees of the former tuo whereof, being extended croce and towards the midle betuixt the former, did there turne tuo rowers [4] for

[1] i.e., a.m. [2] Naivagne. [3] a cogged drum.
[4] rollers. Early description of a rolling mill.

drawing of the yron into a certaine bread and thicknes. The uther tuo did carie and turne each of them a cutter made of this fashione :

25 Apr. Seiven round plaittes of yron of about one footts diameter upon the one, and six upon the uther, of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thicknes (according as they desyre the yron to be cutt) bot so placed at als greatt distance each from ane uther as ther owne thicknes (which is done by putting uther plaittes betuixt them of the same thicknes, and joyneing them all togither with 4 vyce nailles as one peece, with a square hole of 3 inches in the midle for the exeltrees) so that the tuo exeltrees being placed at a competent distance one from ane uther, the 6 plaittes of the one cutter may enter about $\frac{1}{2}$ inche within the distances of the 7 plaittes of the uther cutter, and so turne.

25 Apr. Then they had yron of about ane inche thicke and 4 inches broad cutt into peeces of 3 foott longe, which being made varie hote in ane ouven aire fornace, one man takes them out of the fornace, a second passes them thorow the rowers, and so reduces them to the desyred thicknes and breidth. A third receaves from that, and enters them into the cutters, where they passe thorow, and in the passing are cutt into 13 strings, where a fourth receaves them and layes them by in ordor. When they are thus cutt they are tyed up in bundelles of 50 lib. weight and sold by the marchands for $7\frac{1}{2}$ florines the 100 lib. weight ; which is not worth above 5 gilders Hollands.

26 Apr. Soneday. I did heare ane Liege Jesuite preach. In the efternoone I went up to the English Jesuits convent,[1] where amongst uther things I did see ane large horologe [2] composed for the most part of glasse globbes, some with water of divers colors sheweing the houres that wer painted upon them by the shaddow or apparitione of the sone in them or collectione of the beames ; uthers opacke, all showing the houres in a divers maner, bot upon the same

[1] For descriptive details see Theophile Dorrington, *Observations Concerning the Present State of Religion in the Romish Church*, London, 1699.

[2] Without doubt the work of Father Francis Line, S.J. (1595-1675), professor of mathematics and Hebrew there, and a noted horologist. V. *D.N.B.*, s.v.

grounds, or motione of a brasse circle with a pricke in it untill it have no shaddow. Some verses of the severall uses therof which I found there I copied, and intends to putt a large description therof by it selfe.

27 Apr. Moneday. I went and did see the boreing of musketts and the justing of them; three glasse fornaces for makeing of all sorts of glasses; and ane coalle worke 52 fathomes deepe, drawen by 3 horse with a great yron chaine about a statute exeltrie [1] of above 1 fathome diameter which haveing 3 toures of the chaine about it did as it drew up the one lett doune the uther end of the chaine, at 17 or 18 turnes, which wer directed just above the shacht [2] by tuo woden pullies excavat ½ footte and then fitted. This coalle is not above 3 foottes, and yett intertaines 70 workemen beneath, 12 or 15 above ground, with 6 horses divided into tuo shichts [3] from 4 to 4 a clocke.

25 Apr. I did see also upon Saterday ane yron fornace, wherein by discourse I could find no difference to bee in the proportione, nor way of workeing, betuixt it and that I did see in Kent, bot what I have interlyned in the descriptione therof the 9 March.

28 Teuseday. Wee hyred a boatt and went up the water of Wese [4] some tuo ligges, neere a village called Norva,[5] to see ane sulphur and coporose [6] worke. The earth worke hes no levell,[7] bot the water is drawen from it be watermilne pumpes whereof there are 3 wheelles, one of them moveing 8, ane uther 6, and a third 4 pumpes. They draw the water some 8 and some 10 fathomes deepe; for lack of water to move them they wer not now goeing, so I did not see the vaine nor how it lyes, only was informed that they find it within 2 or 3 fathomes of the superfice, and albeit they have gone doune 10 yett they have not come to the leager [8] or ground of it. It lyes flatte, and in the winter

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[1] Here a drum or winch with horizontal axis.
[2] mine shaft.
[3] shifts. Cf. Ger. *Schicht machen*, to cease work.
[4] The Vesdre, which flows into the Ourthe above Liège.
[5] local patois for Noirivaux.
[6] older form of copperas, ferrous sulphate.
[7] adit. [8] Cf. *ligger*, p. 178, n. 1.

tyme when the milnes can goe, in tuo or three mounth they will land als much metall as will hold them workeing and excocting the rest of the yeere. Ther best sulphurous metaille is perfect yallow within lyke brasse, crustie, and without, tuberous lyke excrescences or great warts. There nixt best and more ordinarie is only lyke a blackish gray stonne spotted and starred with yallow spottes. All this sulpherous metall they call Kise.[1] They have some of it also mixed with leidoare, and some perfect leidoare in balles they find also amongst it, and the deeper the more. This leidoare they shedder [2] and separat from the sulphurus metalle, which they bette into crustes so bigge as my fist, and sends it to the refyneing house. There ther is ane fornace the icnographie whereof I have a part with the rest. It is some 15 or 16 foottes long and 5 foottes broad. It hes first levvell with the ground 8 fyre holles with ther branders, whereof the cinerices [3] are beneath the ground entering therto at the one end.

28 Apr. These foci or fyre holles are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ foott large and 2 foottes long, ther mouthes all upon one front and range, ovenmouthed. Above thir wer tuo ranke of pottes layed upon ther broadsyd with ther mouthes the same way that the foci, tuo pottes one above ane uther directlie above each fyrehole, bot ther mouthes half a footte higher before than there bottomes (*above* inner endes) behinde for the letting the sulphur runne that way, where it passes thorow ane earthen canale halfe a foott square and 1 foott longe into ane sumpe of ane foott square ansuering to each of them behynd, in tuo ganges as the pottes ; alonges the mouthes whereof there is water caried into 2 leid canalls open above and communicateing alwayes fresh water to the sumpes where it stands ane handbreadth deepe, which collecteth the vapours and distilling sulphur into ceakes. The fornace being thus prepared they have ane yron scoope of $1\frac{1}{2}$ foott long and 8 inches broad, halfe cylindricke, whereof they putt tuo heaped measures of the metall into each potte everie three houres, voyding the excocted mater before they charge of new. Efter they have

[1] Du. *Kies*, pyrites. [2] crush. [3] ash-holes.

charged immediatlie they close the ostiole or potte mouth with a covert of clay, and throwes up ashes and coalle dust about it that no aire enter leist the mater inflamme and so consumme, for the avoyding whereof also the sumpe holes behynd are closed also, bot with clay about the covers because of the byrunning water, and that they are not opened bot once in 12 houres ; in the which at everie opening, that is efter the excoctione of everie 3 charges or 6 of the aforesaids measures of metall, they use to have in the 15 sumpes (for the 16th had beene broken doune upon the failyie of the potte or some uther reason) betuixt 120 and 150 lib. of sulphur in all, everie sumpe yeeldeing its cake lyke ane cake of wax, some ane inch some 1½ inche thicke, yallow lyke wax, according to the different fynnes of the metall. Thir cakes being broken and taken out are caried to the refyneing house, whereof heire efter. At everie chargeing of the pottes the excocted metall is drawne out and receaved into ane yron hurellbarrow, in the which that of everie potte is caried out at one tyme to the backe of the worke house, and ther (rid hotte as it is) commixed with uther stuffe whereof heirefter, and orderlie built up in litle hillockes which will burne incessantlie for the space of 8 or 9 mounthes before the sulfurous mater resting in them be consumed, which doeth also prepare the metall for the excocting of the coporose, which is taken out efter that the sulphur is excocted, whereunto the fyre prepares it, and the longer it lyes in digestion therefter the better.

28 Apr. Of this mater thus prepraed they take and cast into maceratories [1] or square ditches full of water so much as they can convenientlie hold ; where efter that they find the water strong aneuch with vitrioline substance which it attracts out of the aforesaid metall, they convoy it by open canalles of woode to be concocted as heirefter. If the water become not strong aneuch efter one commixture, they remove the old and castes in new earth. This earth is casten up againe into heapes, and being dry is that stuffe with the which the metall comeing from the pottes (the

[1] Cf. Fr. *macérer*.

sulfur being alreddie excocted) is comixed, and it will yeeld thus vitriolle better the 2 then 1 commixtion, and being cast up in heapes againe efter the second tyme will in a competent tyme acquyre new strenth and more vitrioline substance againe. This water thus convoyed into the workhouses againe is receaved into a large cisterne out of the which it is cast into leid cathernes,[1] of the which there were 4 or 5, where it doeth seath some 24 houres, and therefter is cast into cisternes wherein there are branches of wood and roddes to the which the vitriole congealles and adheares, and the lixive remaineing is rapported to the cathrones [1] againe to be recocted, which is reiterat so long as it conteines any strenth in it.[2] This vitriol is sold for about 5 florines the 100, which is 94 Amsterdame weight. As to the way of the refyneing of the sulfur I did not see it, for they wer not workeing; bot I did see the formes in the which ther were some of it cast and a cooling (and they said they used no ingredients). They wer about 3 foott long and 1 foott broad everie boord, whereof 7 being joyned togither made a full square; the inner 5 of thir 7 wer excavat on both sydes, bot on the one into 6 and on the uther into 5 concaveties, the convexes of these 5 of the one syde falling betuixt the convexes of the 6 on the uther that the formes might be the more compact, but the exterior boords wer only excavat on the one syde, the one into fyve and the uther into 6. So that everie square mould did cast 33 battones of sulfur of $1\frac{1}{2}$ foott at a tyme.

28 Apr. Thir moulds wer joined and made fast togither with tuo square yron girthes and wedges, and wer so framed in the over end with a litle ledgeing or eminencie about, the wholle being joyned that the wholle mould might be filled at a tyme. This sulfur is sold for betuixt 15 and 17 florines ther 100, which is bot 94 lib. Amsterdame weight, and there 15 florines (as the monies now goes) not worth above 10 gilders Holland mony. Thir workes have

[1] cauldrons or evaporating pans.

[2] Cf. the similar process in 'a most ingenious copperas work' at Queenborough, Isle of Sheppey, briefly described by Brereton, *Travels*, 1634, p. 3.

severall partiners, whereof one Mr. Wingett [1] of Liege, marchand, is ane of the cheiffe, who was ther and intertained us varie kyndlie for his cousines cause with whom wee lodged. The workes are called in Liegois Lusin, i.e. ouvrages, de la blanch plumbier.

29 Apr. Wednsday. I did see the way of the casting of small dregie or drope,[2] which is done by casting a litle auripigment [3] in the leid when it is molten, and lett it stand so long as it lowes or flammes ; then with one ladle to poure it into ane uther full of small holles of the bignes of a small preen [4] head or litle more, thorow the which the leid passing does granulat. The one ladle must alwayes feed the uther that the leid coolle not and stope the holles, for if the holles stoppe all must be throune into the potte againe, whereas utherwyse thogh the leed coolle at the first inpoureing or efterwards about the edges, yet the holles in the midle may be made or still held open and runeing by the feedeing with hote leed.

29 Apr. The leed most be bot temperatlie hotte, which is best found out by tryell. The laidle with the holles must be held above a veshell with water (which the deeper the better) within ane handbroad of the superfice therof, bot this distance, as the temper of the leede, must be sought by tryell ; for albeit I had no satisfactione theranent from him that shewed it me, yett I found them to have ane proportionall correspondence so that the one did rectifie the uther, the great distance the hotte leed et contra. Nather did I receave satisfactione anent the proportione of leed and auripigment, only one oz. to 6 lib. of leed not serving, he took 2 oz. and I thoght it a litle too much.

This day also about 1 a clocke in the efternoone wee parted from Liege towards Namure, bot in respect there

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[1] The de la Vignette family belonged to the large-scale merchant and industrial class in mid-17th century Liège. Jean and Gilles, sons of Conrard de la Vignette, along with their brother-in-law Nicolas de Limburg, were then (1646) partners in a company working the minerals and the important industrial plant of La Blanche Plombière at Prayon, on the Wese (Vesdre). J. Yernaux, *La métallurgie liégeoise au XVII^e siècle* (Liège, 1939), pp. 43-4.

[2] small shot.

[3] orpiment, to harden the lead.

[4] pin.

wer some alme workes to be seene by the way within tuo ligges, wee would not goe in the ordinarie boatt bot resolved to take a walke a foottc. All this tyme that I was at Liege I remained by Mr. Vanhoghts enforcement in a couzine germanes house of his called Catharine Vanhoght and her houseband, ane yron marchand named Dirick Henrick Mex [1]; with whom I left a memorandum for some yron workc, cheiflie (*above* 36 muskettes) anc yron chaine of 40 fathomes for which I aggried with the smithes for 3 lib. the fathome; and 30 roddes or fathomes of ane yron borrell [2] for the ground, with severall uther particulares conforme to ane speciall notte therof (for I found all grosse yron worke to be extreame cheape here) for which I aggried also for 60 florines in haille.

In our way up the syde of the river of the Maese wee did see, cheefelie at a village called Jonky,[3] severall houses for the concoction of alme.[4] In ther wayes of operatione, fornaces and uthers, I could perceave no differenee from the aforesaid of vitrioll. Only besydes the alme lixive [5] (which in some of them was convoyed a myle and further in open wooden canalles from the mynes, of which heire-efter) they use efter the concoction to cast in to 12 parts of lixive 1 of pisse for præcipitateing of the mater.[6]

29 Apr. The concoctione requyres 24 houres, and efter-wards throwne into troches; and the mater efter it con-gealed is purified by a second concoction and then is cast into great barrelles lyke unto wyne pypes [7] which they take a sunder to take out the alme efter that it is congealed. About a ligge from Jonkye besyde the Castle of Engremont,[8] neere a litle burne that runnes in to the Maese, wee did

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[1] Dirick Hendrick Meex was a cousin and neighbour of Gilles Vignette, the 'Mr. Wingett' of p. 176.

[2] a boring tool, wimble. Table of Rates, 1612, 'borrellis for wryghtis.'

[3] Now Chokier, on the Meuse, 16 km. from Liège.

[4] Cf. the process as described, with illustrations, in Dr. Charles Singer's *The Earliest Chemical Industry*, The Folio Society, 1948, pp. 210, 211.

[5] the liquor containing the dissolved salts.

[6] Pennant (*Tours*. edn. 1774, pp. 22-3) noted the same process and precipitant at alum works in Yorkshire. Cf. also Clow, *The Chemical Revolution*, p. 237.

[7] the roching easks, for which see Singer, *op. cit.*, pp. 211, 286.

[8] Le Château d'Aigremont.

see the alme earth workes from the which the water is voyded by pompes and water milnes (one on each syde of the burne) drawing the water 10 fathomes, one pompe serveing ane uther, wherein was most remarkable that the water wheelle moveing the pumpes was distant from them 30 and 50 fathomes, as may appeire in my descriptione therof a part.

29 Apr. There sc[h]achtes or fosses, as they call them, are for the most part round, timbred with wands and small roddes plett thorow uther nowayes stronglie, backed with heather or strae. Wee went doune into one of them about 10 fathomes deepe. The vaine lay about north east and south west dipping to the south bot not above 1 fathome of 4 or 5, thicke from ligger to hinger [1] neere foure fathomes, bot where they wer workeing I could see none of them; only in returneing towards the schacht I looked narrowlie bot could hardlie discerne the distinctione betuixt the stonne and the metall, for by the candle light they wer neere a color, bot by the daylight the stonne somewhat whytter, nather was ther any color of mother.[2]

29 Apr. All I could perceave was in some places only some softnes mixed with balles of a mangrell nature [3] betuixt that of the stonne and that of the metall; nather did this lye ordorlie. And as to the workers they could informe me nothing, for I found them lyke our colyers that being sett on can worke, bot without any knowlege of the partes of the vaine or observatione therof in there workeing. And with reason so, for the vaine it selfe lookes much lyke a sort of parrett coalle, bot much more friable and fissille. The color is all one, bot where the aire comes upon this it florishes with a litle yallow ycie mater,[4] both without and within, where the fissures and jointes therof runnes. There was in the vaine a stoveing heatt with a

[1] from floor to roof of the lode or vein.

[2] i.e. the mother ore. For the use of this term c. 1603, see Cochran-Patrick, *Early Records of Mining in Scotland*, pp. xxx-xxxi—' motheres as the Scottyshe myneres call them, and by our Englyshe leederes or metalline fumes pickeng betweene two rockes.'

[3] Pyritic concretions; cf. descriptions of alum stone in N. Yorkshire by Colwall (1678) and Jars (1765) in Singer, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-5.

[4] efflorescence of the sulphates.

strong senting savor,[1] wherefor they worke not above 8 houres togither.

29 Apr. Ther windowes [2] are lyke oures bot longer, with timbre hands lyke those of our ordinarie coallpitts. This mater being drawen above ground, they build it in litle square stackes or monts with wood lyke faggottes stratum super stratum a speireheigh long and large at pleasure, joineing one of 10 ft. broad and 40 long to ane uther, and so furth. Thus they burne the stonne and throwes it therefter into water receptaelles or troches [3] from which efter 24 houres (or therby) digestione it is convoyed by canalles as is aforesaid into the houses of coneoctione.[4] They did shew to me above ground tuo eropes of (as they termed them) eristall vaines which they alleged to be the mater whereof eristall is made. The one had never been tuehed, bot the uther had been wroght in into the hill 9 or 10 fathomes and sucken upon als mueh. I went into the drift and found it nothing bot a fibra,[5] as I did take it, of the alme vaine, for it falles in upon the leager [6] therof almost croce ; bot searching on the opposite syde of the brae I did not find it goe thorow into it. I found indead at the entric a thicke mother [7] of a grayish yallow color with a eleire blaeke sparre about two inches thieke in the midle of it, bot it closed at the forehead, as they also confessed to me it did in the sinkeing. They shewed to me also neere unto the almeworkes ane ealmie [8] worke which lay paralell with the uther, bot the vaine was nather thicke nor constant bot found in great lumpes, now a peece and then a peece lesser and bigger. I could not goe doune into them now for it wes 8 a clocke and they told me that the nixt day was holy day. Only I gotte a litle of the vaine both crude and burnt, which with uther peeces of everie thing els I did see I sent backe with ane uther couzine of Mr. Vanhoghts called Theilman Deure

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[1] of sulphur dioxide.
[2] entranees to side galleries, two uprights joined by a bar.
[3] lixivating tanks.
[4] the boiling houses.
[5] an offshoot or spur.
[6] the main deposit.
[7] See p. 178, n. 2.
[8] calamine, *lapis calaminaris*, an ore of zinc.

to Liege to be sent to Midleburgh and from thence with my uther things to Scotland.

Wee lay that night in a village called Eingen. The nixt morneing we wer forced to goe by footte to Huy, so wee parted at 6 a clocke that wee might fetch the passage boatt from that to Namure which partes ordinarlie at 9 houres. 30 Apr. Bot thogh wee came there about ½ ane houre past 8, yett upon ane extraordinarie occasione it was gone before wee came, so wee behoved to stay there all that day, for it was dangerous to goe single either by horse or boatt. At 12 a clocke Mr. Deure parted for Liege.

1 May Freidday morneing. Wee did see in Huy ane yron milne for refyneing of sow or geusen yron [1] and beatteing of it into gades.[2] Of the refyneing I could understand nothing bot that in ane open large harth before bellies blowen with a water wheelle they enter in the geu [3] by the on end, and efter a competent space that it is almost molten they take out (brakeing and separateing it by force from the rest) a certaine quantitie which they bett togither into a masse about 1 foott long and ½ foott round which they delyver into the forgers, who by ane hammer moved also be ane water wheelle (whereof the descriptione is also a part with the rest) they first beatt solid, then into the forme of a gade ; the hammer varie large and high, the bateing face of it about a foott long, but not above 3 inches broad ; the face of the studie [4] longer and tuyce so broad (the narrow beattes out, the lenthe makes straight) ; the waterwheelle exeltrie of about 4 foottes diameter, all covered with bands of yron forgainst the studie for saftie from fyreing ; haveing a cogge in everie quarter, it lifted the hammer by the heft therof (which was fix[ed] at the one [end] about 2½ [foottes] from the head and lay paralelle with the exeltree) about 2 foottes from the head foure tymes in one toure.

May 1. Wee parted from Huy in the passage boat efter 9 a clocke, and being drawen bot with 3 horses because the wind favoured us, 5 being the ordinarie, wee came to

[1] pig or cast iron. Cf. Du. *geus*, sow.
[2] rods.
[3] or gew ; last letter blotted in MS.
[4] anvil.

Namure about ½ ane houre efter 3 a clocke. At our arryvell wee sent to advertish the guard (as the ordor and coustome is) that wee wer strangers. In the meane tyme I looked upon some yron oare that was lyeing at the watersyde to be shipped, and tooke severall peeces of it with me. Wee did see also some yron slagges lyeing there, and haveing inquyred wee were told that thay wer to bee caried to Vellerin,[1] a village neireby where [are] some leidworkes, to be mixed with the leedoare for furthering the smelting [2] therof; which is in bailles [3] first and then in fornaces.

May 1. By this tyme ane officer came and receaved us, and haveing taken a note of our names and lodgeing tooke our passes, promiseing to returne them to us within ane houre or tuo, bot withall desyred us to keepe our chambre untill he came to us. So wee did untill 9 a clocke but he came not. At supper being informed of the dangerousnes of the way even upon all quarters, so that wee could not safelie goe to any hand to see any workes, and withall that ther wer none to be seene bot yron and leede, and that the smelting of the leede was as said is, not for my purpose; and that to morrow there was a convoy to goe with tuo commissares that wer at table with us, the lyke of which occasione would not offer in a weeke or fortnight, wee resolved to take that opportunitie.

May 1. With this resolutione we went to bed about 9 a clocke, bot by wee wer well lyen doune there came a sergeant and desyred us to come to the Governour, so we wer forced to ryse, and came to his lodgeing where wee wer varie strictlie examined by him, bot with varie much discretion and courtesie. At lenth he gave ordor to dispatch our passes that night. His stylle is the Baron of Ballanon,[4] and was governour of Breda when it was taken,[5]

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[1] Vedrin, on the outskirts of Namur. A valuable lead vein was discovered there in 1612.

[2] as a flux.

[3] Cf. in Derbyshire, *boles*, hearths with natural or induced draught.

[4] Claude de Rye, Baron de Balançon, counsellor of state and captain of artillery, mentioned as governor of Namur in 1645; ob. c. 1648.

[5] Oct. 10, 1637.

wher he lost a legge (which he had and yet hes) of timbre, which he had lost reallie before at Ostend. Our passeports were neglected that night, and it was 10 a clocke the nixt day before wee could have them, so wee lost the occasione of that convoy; which passages being compared with what had befallen a Rotterdamer the day before, who notwithstanding he had a passeport was putt and still, May 2, lyeing in prisone for lookeing upon castell and walles with licence, wee resolved to returne to Huy and from thence by Loven [1] to Antuerpe as the safest and leist suspected way if they intended any thing against us. Bot whill wee wer thus resolveing wee were advertished of ane uther convoy of 25 men that wer goeing with a Spanish Capitaine towards Brusselles. So thogh not without scruple and suspitione wee prepared horses for our selves and parted (without seeing any more of the toune or about it bot the Jesuits church whereof all the pillers within are allabest,[2] thoght to be, for building though litle, the rarest in Europe).

May 2. In companie with the aforesaid Capitaine and his convoy, the same day being Saterday about 11 a clocke, in our way wee did see marching towards Gemblours the Duke of Loraines cavallerie, bot could not discerne ther numbre. Wee came that night 6 ligges to a village called Waver about 5 a clocke, where wee dismissed our convoy, and lay there that night. The nixt day, Soneday, about 4 a clocke wee tooke horse againe and came 4 ligges to Brusselles about 9 a clocke, where wee found it to bee a great festivall day called there Kermesse in honour of the Virgine Marie, bot full of superstitione, vanitie and profanitie not sufferable by Chrestiones upon a Sabboth day. Heire wee did see the Ducke of Loraine, the Marques of Castelredrigo called Don Manuell de Moura, Governour of the wholle Low Countrayes under the King of Spaine, granter and subscryver of our passeports at the begining, and ane uther Generall of the Kings called [*blank*]. From Brussells wee tooke the passage boatt the same night

[1] Louvain.

[2] Text so changed from *marbell*; cf. *alabast*, p. 183.

about 8½ a clocke for Antuerpe. Wee shifted boattes 5 tymes that night because of ther slousses or sases (as they call them) by the which the water is made navigable (for it is artificiall) by degrees, the water being tuo or 3 fathomes lower in each of them as yee diseend. If boattes or shipes desyre to passe from the one to the uther, they have double slousses at each sas, and takeing the boattes in betuixt them by opening of one and firmeing it again, by opening of the uther they lett water fill or voyd to make it lewell with the uther for passage.

May 4 Moneday. By 9 a clocke wee came to Antuerpe being in all from Brussells betuixt 10 and 11 ligges. I found Antuerpe for situatione and statelie streettes the sueetest toune that ever I was in. Heire also the Jesuits church is all of alabast within, and the pillars of one peece 10 or 12 foottes high and 3 or 4 footts diameter, bot the pictures of that church are estimat to manie millions. Heire I stayed untill Wednsday at 11 a clocke when wee tooke boatt for Lillo, which is a fort belonging to the Estaites of Holland beyond the which the boattes of Antuerpe cannot passe without a speciall passeport. There not finding any present occasione for Midleburgh wee stayed that night within the fort.

May 7 Thuresday. At 7 a clocke wee tooke boatt for Midleburgh and came to the Ile of Tregouse [1] about 2 a clocke, where we dyned in a village untill the tyde did make againe. About 5 a clocke we shipped againe and came to Rammekens [2] about 7 a clocke where wee landed and came to Midleburgh that night a foott, for wee could have nather chariot nor boatte.

8 Freidday. Efter dinner with Mr. Lefebvre wee went in [a] chariot towards Vlissinge only to enquyre for a passage for England, bot heard of none. At lenth comeing to the shore wee perceaved a shippe setting saille, and haveing enquyred whither shee was bound wee wer informed for Calais.

May 8. So I resolved, howbeit I had nather my man nor

[1] South Beveland, where Ter Goes is shown by Blaeu as a fort.
[2] On S.E. coast of Walcheren.

baggage with me, to take that opportunitie ; whereupon haveing spoken a word with Mrs. Lefebvre and Vanhoght anent our contract, anent the tyme whereof I had referred my selfe to ther optione, they declared that in respect ther was a yeere of it alreddie past in the which they had receaved no leidoare, they would not only have it for the wholle fyve yeeres contained in the contract bot would have this to be the first of those fyve : and in respect wee had nather tyme nor our contracts with us to putte the samine in wrytteing, wee passed our words therupon. And it was aggried that so soone as I should come to Scotland I should send to them a forme of what should be added to our contracts, which they should wrytte and subscryve upon one of ther doubles of our contract and send to me, and that I should returne one of myne so subscryved unto them.

Lykeas in respect Mr. Vanhoght had debursed most part of all the charges of my voyage and of thinges boght be me in it or given ordors for at Liege conforme to my memorandum therof, the double whereof I have besyde me under Mr. Vanhoghts hand, all which will extend to varie neere 300 lib. great,[1] if not above ; and that now at my parteing I receaved from them £247 gilders 8 st[uvers] [2] Hollands monie, I therefor gave them ane tickett under my hand to this tenor : That besydes what I ame resting [3] conforme to our compt subscryved at Midleburgh $\frac{\text{27 March}}{\text{6 Aprill}}$ last, there hes been debursed since be Mr. Vanhoght for me in my journay and for particulares boght and bespoken be me in it the soume of three hundreth pounds fleimmes great, lesse or more, whereanent I referre my selfe to Mr. Vanhoghts accompts ; and als in the same tickett granted the receat of the aforesaid tuo hundreth fourtie seiven gilders 8 stuvers then presentlie receaved ; which tickett is written and subscryved with my hand at Vlisignen of this dayes date.

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[1] At normal exchange reckoning, £1920 Scots or £160 stg.
[2] In MS. *gilders* inserted above £. Cf. p. 164, n. 1.
[3] V. p. 155.

May 8. So I presentlie went a board and when I came there found that shippe was at the young prince of Oranges requeist directed by those of the admiralitie to carie over one Doctor Goffe (the Queens agent in the business of Ireland),[1] tuo English captains and one Cap. Dassie,[2] who declared that not passing a fourthnight he had been at Montrose[3] with ammunitione and was now returneing to the Queene, who for the present is in Paris.

9 Saterday. The nixt day by 12 a clocke we came within sight of Calais, bot it being calme and the tyde contrare, wer forced to ane anchore where we lay that night.

May 10 Soneday. By three a clocke in the morneing wee went a shore, bot being forced to walkes on the key untill 6 a clocke that the ports wer opened, I inquyred for the first occasione of passage for Dover, and understood that the passage boatt was not to parte untill Moneday, bot that the varie same tyde there was goeing a shallope that had come over with my Lord Goring[4]; whereupon considdering that the day was varie faire without so much as the appeirance of any wynd at all, I resolved to take that opportunitie, so the portes being opened I only entered into the citie with the Governour[5] to gette his passe as the coustome is, and returned immediatlie; yett in that tyme and there first I heard the certaine newes of the Kings [coming] disguysed in to the Scottish armie at Newworke.[6] About 8 a clocke wee sett off: bot wee wer not a ligge out when wee discryed a man of warre shallope (under the name of the Kings) perseuing ane English crare[7] towards Graveling; so our men being a dozen in numbre putt themselves in posture, bot they passed us and followed

[1] Stephen Goffe (1605-1681), D.D., one of the King's chaplains, and trusted royalist agent. V. *D.N.B.* Connected with the Earl of Glamorgan's mission (1645-46) to bring over from Ireland a force to assist the King. Cf. *Birch's Inquiry* (1747).

[2] Possibly the same as mentioned in Cunningham's *Journal*, p. 240: 'A Scottish fleeboat, taken by Captain Darcy, put into the Brill, reclaimed Feb. 1646.'

[3] The Scottish port; presumably with supplies for the Marquis.

[4] George, Lord Goring (1608-57), eldest son of the Earl of Norwich. V. *D.N.B.*

[5] Louis de Béthune, Comte de Charost.

[6] On May 5th. [7] small trading vessel.

on ther persuitt; so wee thogh wee wer forced to row the most part of the way, and that wee miscaried above two houres in our course be reason of a superveining mist, yett wee arryved at Dover about 3 a clocke. Efter the preaching I went to the Major and shewed my passe which was copied and marked and he gave me ane uther. So about 5 a clocke at night I tooke a post horse and came to Canterberry that night.

11 Moneday. I parted with the ordinarie coache about 5 a clocke in the morneing and came to Gravesend about 1 a clocke, where I tooke water and came to our lodgeing in the Strand about 6 a clocke.

May 12 Teuseday. I went with my brether and sisters to see Richemond and Syon house.

18 Mooneday. Wee went to see Hampton Court, where wee did salute the Ducke of Hammiltoune,[1] and therefter by Kingstoune (where we left our coaches) to Ham by water to see Mr. Murray to whom it belonges.[2] It is one of the best contryved litle houses that ever I did see, whereof I have drawen the scenographe so neere as I could upon once passing thorow it. From this we returned to Kingstoune againe, wher efter dinner there wee tooke our coaches againe and went to see Womeltoune the Queenes house,[3] where wee did see a neatte house partlie richlie furnished, of a most sueett seatt and gardens where wee did see oranges and limmones groweing. From that we returned the same night to London. Rob. Wilsone arryved [4] from Holland with my clocke bagge.

26 Teuseday wee wer invited be Sir Thomas Hanmure [5]

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[1] James, 3rd Marquess, cr. Duke of Hamilton and Marquess of Clydesdale, 12 April 1643. *S.P.*, iv, 376-8.

[2] In 1637 the lands and manor of Ham and Petersham were leased by Charles I to William Murray, groom of the bedchamber, with whom he had been associated since boyhood. *Ham House*, H.M. Stationery Office; *S.P.*, iii, 401.

[3] The manor house of Wimbledon, acquired in 1638 for Henrietta Maria, passed after 1649 into the possession of Colonel Lambert. Lysons, *Environs of London*, i, 524 *et seq.*; *V.C.H. Surrey*, iv, 122-3.

[4] Inserted in different ink between entries 18 and 26 May.

[5] Sir Thomas Hanmer (1612-78) 2nd baronet; page of honour and cupbearer to Charles I; represented Flint in the Short Parlt. A royalist compounder, 1645. G.E.C. *Baronetage*, i, 152; W. R. Williams, *Parliamentary History of Wales*; Burke, *Peerage*, s.v. See *infra*, 30 June.

to supper at the Baire at the bridge foottc.

28 Thurseady. Wee invited him thither to dinner, and Mr. Hossie.

29 Freidday. Wee wer invited to Mr. Englishes [1] to dinner.

May 30 Saterday. I receaved tuo hundreth pounds sterling from Mr. Tirens, be order from Mrs. Lefebvrier and Vanhoght from Midleburgh, for the which as of before I did give Mr. Tirens my band of this dayes date of the summe of £208 st. payable last November.

June 1 Moneday. I paid of the aforesaid mony anc £100 to my brother Sir Alexander, which togither with uther 50 lib. payed be me and my wyfe at severalle tymes of before extends to £150 st., whereof I have receaved his diseharge conteining also the receat of anc uther £100 payed and discharged of before.

June 3 Wednseday. At 2 a cloeke wee parted from London in a coaehe of 6 horses for Scotland ; my sister Areskine,[2] her sone Charles,[3] my wyfe and I, and ther tuo waitting maids Elspeth Donaldsone and Agnis Kneillane.[4] Wee eame that night about 5 a cloeke 10 mylles to Bernett,[5] where we lodged at the Rid Lyon. There convoyed us thither my brother Sir Charles and Sir Thomas Disehing-toune [6] on horseback, and my brother Sir Alexander and his lady in there owne eoaehe.[7] The said day I eaused shippe in the morneing before I parted, in John Thomesone of the Pannes, called with the thumbe,[8] his shippe 5 trunkes

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[1] V. p. 142, n. 5.

[2] Mary, b. 1620, 3rd dau. of Sir Thomas Hope, wife of Sir Charles Erskine (or Areskine). V. p. 145, n. 1.

[3] Charles Erskine, third but eldest surviving son, b. 1 July 1643 ; cr. baronet 1666 ; d. 1690.

[4] Agnes Cleilland, married Edinburgh merchant burgess Philip Kincaid, 3 Feb. 1648. *Edin. Register of Marriages*, and *Hope MS. Letter Book*, 7/17 Apr. 1648.

[5] Barnet.

[6] For the Dishingtons of Ardross, Fife, see Wood, *The East Neuk of Fife*, 2nd edn., 213-218. For his earlier services at Court and missions abroad, see *Hist. MSS. Comm., Mar and Kellie MSS.* (1904), July 20, 1618 ; *Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters*, 1615-1635, 2 vols., *passim* ; and later, *Montereul Correspondence*, S.H.S., i, pp. xv, 3 n., ii, p. 564 ; H. W. Meikle, *Correspondence of the Scots Commissioners in London*, pp. xxv, 76, 225. Also *C.S.P. Dom.*, 1629-31, 127 ; 1633-4, 124 ; 1625-49, 444.

[7] V. *D.T.H.*, 4 March 1644.

[8] His *tee* or by-name.

and tuo hampers, and a cace with the King and Queenes pictures with there frames ; with the which I left my man Robine Wilsone to goe for Scotland.

4 Thurseday. Wee tooke leive of our companie and parted from Bernett about ½ nyne a clocke and came that night about 5 a clocke 25 mylles bad way to Bigglesworth.[1]

5 Freidday. Wee parted from there about 8 a clocke and came that day 22 mylles to Stiltoune about 4 a clocke in the efternoone. At our lodgeing heire I rencountred with one George Hollis of Yollegraffe [2] neire to Hadden House, belonging to the Erle of Rutland [3] in the Countie of Darbie, whom I found to be a myner ; he professed much skille under ground bot none in tryelles. He told me of one Joseph Grahame a batcheller, ane ingenier for the makeing of water workes or any thing of that kynd and a worker under ground too ; he dwelles within ½ mylle of Hadden house in a village called Alport ; he is a man worth £100 st. of substance, temperat and judicious, of about 35 yeires of age. He told me also of one Thomas Chrystley a smelter in Staffordshyre some 8 mylles from Hadden house, ane habile man bot somewhat given to drinke. He told me that this Hadden house is within some 24 mylles of Duncaster, that the keepper of it in my Lords absence is one Mr. Woodreeffe to whom he recommended me incace I should goe thither. I gave him ordors to promiss 15 d. a day to any of the aforesaids workemen if so be they would come to me to Scotland, whereupon he promised to advertish me and for addressing of letters to him did name to me one Francois Braineford ane apothecarie in Duncaster to whom I might direct them with the pacquett. He told me that now the leed at the smelting house is worth above 12 lib. st. the tounne, compteing 2200 wt. to the toune ; that the marchant payes 44 ss. st. of custome for everie tunne of leed they carie out of the countray. He told me also that in Ireland he hes seene plattes of yron some 3 inches thicke or therby

[1] Biggleswade.
[2] Youlgrave, a mining village.
[3] John Manners, 8th Earl of Rutland (1604-79).

used in place of a forestonne in a leed herth ; that in Derbishyre they pay ordinarlie ten groattes for smelting a tunne of leid ; that the potters pay 10 groates for the dishe of oare,[1] that is about 4 stonne.

6 Saterday. Wee parted at 7 a clocke from Stiltoune, and came about 3 a clocke to Grantham being 28 mylles.

7 There wee stayed Soneday ; where I had most part of my discourse with Mr. Hollis, who came that lenth 5 mylles by his way of purpose to meette with me at lenth.

June 8 Moneday. Wee parted at 8 a cloeke from Grantham, passed closse by Newworke, bot not thorow it because of the seicknesse. And wee came that night about 8 a clocke to Duncaster, being 38 mylles.

9 Teuseday. From Duncaster wee came thorow Todecaster 27 mylles to Yorke, where wee lay all Thurseday [2] because we had broken ane exeltrie.

11 Thurseday. Wee parted from Yorke about 7 a clocke, and came 24 mylles to Northallertoune about 2 a clocke.

12 Freidday. We came 24 mylles to Durrhame.

13 Saterday. Wee came about 12 a clocke 12 mylles to Newcastell where for the present the King was.

15 June 1646 Moneday. Wee stayed all day in Newcastle ; heire I receaved my first lettre from my father anent a place.

This day also I was a bargening with on Generall Major Vandros [3] a Dutchman (who's regiment at the instance of the Parliament of England was now to be earceered) for some horses of his, and he did offer me 4 stonned horses, 5 geldings, and tuo mearrs, all with there sadles and 5 or 6 paire pistoletts for ane £100 st. I offered him 90 bot he would not. At night I went to him againe and offerred

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[1] The standard dish, made of latten, is kept in the Moot Hall at Wirksworth. V. *V.C.H., Derbyshire*, ii, 336-9.

[2] Should be Wednesday.

[3] Jonas van Druschke (Vandrusque, Wandrosse and other variants), a Dutch soldier who ' for his love to the kingdome of Scotland hes, on his owen proper charge, leuied a regiment of horse and was with them in service in the Scotts army.' (Balfour, *Annales*, iii, 346) ; *C.S.P. Dom.*, 1644, p. 343. See further, Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, S.H.S., pp. xlii, 5 ; *Scotland and the Protectorate*, S.H.S., p. 4.

him the hundreth, bot he resiled from it for a forthnight, untill he should see how maters would goe ; which I conceaved to be a shift. However I left ordor with Mr. Thomas Ridpeth to receave them if he would lett me have them at that prycc. The same day upon expectatione of the aforesaid bargane I borrowed from Mr. Thomas Henderson [1] tuo thousand merks Scots which I receaved all in gold, and gave him my band therefor payable at Mart[inmas] nixt with interest ; whereof I have the copie besyde me. He said that this mony belonged to young Clackmannen [2] bot the band is in his owne name.

16 June 1646 Teuseday. Wee parted from Newcastle about 9 a clocke and because Mr. Thomas Henrysones wyfe and doughter wer to goe with us, I quitte my place in the coache to them and road my selfe upon one of his horses ; so wee came that night about 6 a clocke to Annicke.

17 Wednseday. Wee parted from Annicke about 9 a clocke and came to Barwicke about 5 at night.

18 Thurseday. Wee parted from Barwicke about 8 a clocke and came to Dumbar about 3.

19 Freidday. Wee parted from Dumbar about 10 and came to Ed[r] about 6 a clocke at night.

20 June 1646 Saterday, was putt to interloquutor (the Sessione being sitteing) the question [3] betuixt us and Lammingtoune [4] anent the tacke dewtie of the leidmynes preceeding my entrie,[5] which he had payed to Traquaire [6] ; which was susteined for the yeeres 34 and therefter, for the

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[1] Or Henryson, son of Patrick Henderson, reader in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh. Admitted advocate, 1635 ; married Jean Murray, 27 Oct. 1641. On 26 Dec. 1646, he received from the King at Newcastle the gift of the office of Joint Justice-Depute. (*A.P.S.*, vi (i) 848) ; Commissary of Perth, 1657 ; burgess of Edinburgh, 8 May 1661.

[2] Henry Bruce, 11th laird of Clackmannan.

[3] In the *Register of Acts and Decreets* (H.M. Register House), vol. 531, there is no entry for 20th June ; but in vol. 529, f. 50, June 6, in Lamington *v.* Sir Thomas Hope, the former's annual tack duty, dating from 1631, on a tenth part of the leadmines of Waterhead is given as 1000 merks.

[4] Sir William Baillie (1600-1668), son of Sir William Maxwell, alias Baillie of Lamington. J. W. Baillie, *Lives of the Baillies*, pp. 36-41.

[5] He had taken sasine of the lands and minerals of Waterhead, 26 Nov. 1641. *General Register of Sasines*, vol. 50, 1st ser., pp. 246v.-248v.

[6] John Stewart, cr. Earl of Traquair, 23 June 1633. Treasurer-depute 1630-36, Treasurer, 1636-41. *S.P.*, viii, 402-5.

which he shewed Traquaires discharges because the new gift from the King;[1] howbeit in satisfactione therof Traquaire had assigned locallie this take deuttie, yett not being intimat to Lammingtoune before his payment, he was in bona fide to pay to the Erle Traquaire ; and for the 33 yeare the Lords susteined presumptive payment without a discharge, because of the subsequent 5 yeeres payment.

23 June 1646 Teuseday. About 9 a clocke in the morneing my sister Cardros[2] was broght to bed of a sone 10 weekes before the tyme. He leived not long, thogh he had lyfe and motion at his birth.

30 Teuseday. I receaved lettres from London of Sir Thomas Hanmures traiterous accuseing of my brother Sir Alexander (with whom he had intertained great thogh now proven false freindshippe) of haveing told him of the Kings comeing in to the Scottish armie 6 weekes before he came.

Julie 2 My couzine H. Hope was maried on B. Jonkin.[3]

7 Julie Teusday. I receaved letters againe that Sir Thomas Hanmure had succumbed in his probatione and was disgraced.

8 July Wednsday. I spocke my Lord Craufurd-Lindsay now Thesaurare[4] for Mich. gift of Assay Maistre,[5] and gave it in to be past, bot he delayed it. This day also I spocke to him for my interesse, whereof I gott no ansuer, bot he

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[1] *Laing MSS.* Div. II, 478(7), 3 Dec. 1640, ' qlk take beguid in the 35 yeir of God at the expyreing of ane former take.'

[2] Anne Hope, b. 1625, youngest daughter of Sir Thomas, married in 1645 David Erskine (1616-71), seeond Lord Cardross, nephew of Sir Charles Erskine, the husband of her sister Mary. For her sudden death on 20 June 1653, see *S.H.S. Mise.* iii, 159.

[3] Henry Hope, eldest son of Henry Hope, brother of Lord Advoeate Sir Thomas. *Edin. Reg. of Marriages* reeords under this date, ' Catharine Jonkin, Hary Hop, merehant.' She was of the family of David Jonkin, prominent merchant burgess and Eastlyn trader.

[4] John, 10th Lord Lindsay of the Byres, was ereated Earl of Lindsay in 1613 ; in 1644 succeeded his brother Ludovie as 17th Earl of Crawford. In 1644 he became sole Lord High Treasurer after serving on the eommission of five Lords of Treasury appointed in 1641 after the removal of Traquair. *S.P.* iii, 35-36 ; v, 402.

[5] Michael Fraser, notary public, burgess of Edinburgh, servitor to Sir James. In 1643 he had been proposed by Sir Thomas Hope for the office of Warden of the Cunziehouse. (*D.T.H.*, p. 187.) See *infra* July 15.

desyred me not to presse my princepall from the Erle Lothione [1] for the which he is cautionare.

I spocke also to my Lord Dumfermeling [2] who hes promised me either both my princepall and annulrents, or undoubtedlie my haill annualrents at Mart[inmas].

I spocke also to the tutor of Tarfichen [3] and offerred him ane hundreth peeces of benefitte [4] upon his bargane of the lands of Hilderstoune and uthers boght be him [5] from the Erle of Haddingtoune,[6] bot he said he would not take three. And further that they would fall to be holdin of Tarfichen, albeit they have been heiretofore taken holden of the King, and that he would not give any occasione of disputt betuixt his brother sone and me.

15 Wednseday. Efter much solistation I obteined Mich[s]. gift of Assay Maister past the cxchecquer, bot to be consigned in the Thesaurar deputtes [7] hands untill his qualificatione should be tryed, which was done and he admitted accordinglie.

Julie 17 Freidday. At eight a clocke at night efter the lunar eclipse, begoud the great thunder and lightneing, which endured untill midnight.

19 Soneday. I receaved letters from Newcastle from my brother Sir Alexander, certiefieing me that he had arryved thither upon the 14 of this currant, and presentlie gott a kisse of his Majesties hands and was readmitted to his place.

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[1] William Ker, son of Robert Ker, 1st Earl of Ancram and Elizabeth, dau. of Sir John Murray of Blackbarony. On his marriage to Anne, countess of Lothian, he was created 3rd Earl of Lothian (1631). *S.P.*, v, 468-473.

[2] Charles Seton (1608-1659), 2nd Earl of Dunfermline. *S.P.*, iii, 373-4.

[3] William Sandilands of Hilderston, M.A. Edin., 1617, served tutor-in-law, 1 Nov. 1637, to his nephew John Sandilands, 5th Lord Torphichen, then aged 12. *S.P.*, viii, 391, 393.

[4] Probably £100 more for a re-sale.

[5] *R.M.S.*, ix, 1692, 24 July 1646.

For the discovery of silver in 1606 at Hilderston, Linlithgow, see Cochran-Patrick, *Early Records of Mining in Scotland*, xxxvii *et seq.*

[6] John, 4th Earl, grandson of Sir Thomas Hamilton, 1st Earl of Haddington (1627), who in 1607 had a grant of ' the lands of Hilderston and others.' (*R.M.S.*, vi, 1844, 1887.) These passed to the above John on the death, s.p., 8 Feb. 1645, of his brother Thomas. *S.P.*, iv, 317-18.

[7] Sir James Carmichael (1579-1672), re-appointed Treasurer-Depute, 13 Nov. 1641. *S.P.*, iv, 584-5.

Sept. 23 Wedensday. I dreamed my father was dead; and when I came to see him that I said he is not dead bot evill guyded and (apprehending that I did see ane inche of ane small wax candle lyeing by him) that I said ther was the candle lying that he should have burnt which they had lett goe out, so I would needs goe and light it againe, which they thoght could not be done; yett thogh with difficultie I did it, and it seamed to me that it burnt more cleirlie than before, bot whill we wer expecting that it would have burnt the haille candle, it dyed out of a suddaine.

26 Saterday. At night my father (haveing beene all the day well as he used to be) found a litle haviness when he went to bed and about midnight tooke a paine in his backe, whereby he could not rest that night; the nixt morneing being Soneday, Sept. 27, he fell upon a litle slumber about church tyme, so wee went all to church my mother[1] excepted: bot when wee returned we found him fallen in a kynd of letargie, so that he could not move nor speacke bot with difficultie discontinuat words. Presentlie wee sent for Drs. Kinked[2] and Purvis[3] who caused apply ventoses[4] and give him a clister, wherby he was so restored er night that about 10 a cloeke he did give to us all who wer there his blissing in a pourefull maner, and to my sister Areskine for her housband who was at London,[5] and to me for my sister Kerse and her children who wer in the Kerse[6]; and als for my brother Sir Alexander who was at Newcastle with the King. From that tyme fourth he bettered untill Teuseday 29 at 12 a clocke; from that againe his fiever ineressed untill Wednsday 30 at night,

[1] Elizabeth, dau. of John Bennet of Wallyford. Interred Greyfriars, 12 Feb. 1660.

[2] Alexander Kineaid, doctor of medicine, Edin. 1601; d. 1649.

[3] Henry Purves, surgeon, Edin.; m. Margaret Thomson, 12 Oct. 1631. Canongate burgess, 22 Oct., 1630.

[4] cupping glasses.

[5] Still one of the Scots Commissioners there.

[6] His sister-in-law, Helen Rae, dau. of Adam Rae of Pitsindie, widow of Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse and Wester Granton, Lord Justice-General, died v.p. 1643. She died at Edinburgh, 20 June 1647 (*S.H.S. Misc.*, iii, 138) having come there 'anent the bussnesse of Airth,' for which see *supra*, p. 159, n. 3.

with paine in his right liske,[1] not without raveing; from that untill Thurseday Octr. 1 at 12 a clocke he became as at the first. And then his speach failled him altogither and continullie decayed untill about 10 a clocke at night that he dyed.

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[1] groin.

APPENDIX

On pages 1-3 of the initial two leaves of the diary are the following notes and memoranda :—

Page 1

A cord of timber is of timbre 3 foottes long, $3\frac{1}{2}$ foottes high and 12 foottes long. 5 cords ordinarlie are putt in a pyle to be charked, and will make a load of charcoall of 60 seckes of 3 bushelles a peece.

Boght in Antuerpe	May 1646
$19\frac{1}{4}$ elles rid plush counterf[eit] at 3 lib.	57.15
$26(\frac{1}{4})$ blacke true plush at 6 lib.	156
Ane bed (*above* tykeing) of $\frac{\text{ii}}{4}$ brode	66
6 Cushings	16
Ane assay ballance with its pertinents	32
Three Etuises	10
12 lampes at 10 stuvers	7.12
20 elles of a lighter counterf[eit] plush	75

May 1646

The 100 lib. weight of dregie or small leid is sold for 17 ss. 8d. st. and they affirmed that 100 lib. of our Scots french weight will weigh bot 112 lib. of thers.

Page 2

To

Nux vomica, oculus indiæ, mummi [1] beatt togither and mingled with flour, the yocke of ane egge and aquavitæ or

[1] All three are listed under Drugs in the Table of Customs and Valuation of Merchandises appended to Halyburton's *Ledger*. The first two are virulent poisons. *Cocculus Indiae* or *indicus* is the dried fruit of *Anamirta cocculus*, of eastern origin. In the Glossary, *op. cit.*, mummia is deseribed as ' asphalte from Egyptian mummies.'

any uther stronge water and made into ane dow or past; this minched and throwne into any water will insoporat any fish with[in] ane ¼ of ane houre that will bytte at it; bot everie sort of fish will not bytte. Probated by my brother Sir Alexander.

Page 3

The way to the Ironworkes of Tunbrige
To Barden fornace 3 myles neere Speldhirst.
To the forge at Groombridge [1] 3 mylles.
To enquyre at Midleborrow for one Burt and Vanderpeake,[2] and salute them in Mr. Robert Styles name; and at the Hage for one Newport, secretarie to Skeddame, ambassadour in England.[3]
Also on the last two pages of the book :—

* Thomas Mortone duelling in the ridderstreit vpon the gilderskaij in Amsterdam.
* Jean Meijnershagen a la ville de Colonia.
7 June 1646 Rencontred with at Grantham George Hollis myner in Derbishire.
Mr. Bassange a religiouse gentlman of the Duckedoome of Liege and his lady, doughter to my Lady Williamesone. Her sister maried to one Flect,[4] a Scots gentleman neire Dunce.

Last page :—

* Octauian Pullen at the Signe of the rose in Paules church yard.

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[1] 3½ miles S.W. of Tunbridge Wells.
[2] V. *supra*, p. 159, n. 1.
[3] The ambassador at this time was Albert Joachimi. William Nieupoort was in 1646 pensionary at Schiedam, and later ambassador in England (1654-60).
[4] In *P.R. Sasines Berwick*, i, 287, 22 Sept. 1665; Marie Williamson, relict of George Auchenleck (Affleck), elder, of Cumledge (near Duns).
* Each of these is an autograph.

Extract [of] Mr. Vanhoghts' Compt.[1]

Advanecement [2]	£6666	13	4
4 June Bill of Exch[ange]	1453	6	8
18 dito Mich[ael] Frazer	1800	–	–
15 Bookes London	300	–	–
14 Novr. Mr. Tirens	2400	–	–
24 Janre dito [3]	2400	–	–
Compted with them $\frac{6 \text{ Apr.}}{27 \text{ Mar.}}$	15020	–	–
Added by them with my eonsent & at my desyre			
Ane yeeres interest 10^{m} merks [4]	533	6	8
Ane yeeres interest £1453.6.8	116	–	–
Exchange & interest Mich[ael Frazer] 1800 lib	120	–	–
Halfe yeeres interest 400 lib. st.[5]	192	–	–
Receaved that day 100 lib. fl[eemes] [6]	640	–	–
(Seots)	£16621	6	8

Besyds this I rest 15 or 16 lib. st. debursed by Tirens [7] : all this conforme to ther subscryved compt given me this day by them.

[1] For an account of this settlement see *supra*, p. 155.
[2] See same.
[3] V. *supra*, p. 142, n. 2.
[4] 8% on the 'advancement' of £6666 . 13 . 4, or 10,000 merks.
[5] 8% on the two above sums of £200 st.=£16 st. or £192 Scots.
[6] P. 155, n. 2. '100 lib. great' or fleemes.
[7] *Ibid.* 'for a salt and ane dozen of spoons for Mr. Vanhoghts wyfe, bot not now past upon my accompt because not liquid.'

AN ACCOUNT OF PROCEEDINGS FROM PRINCE CHARLES' LANDING TO PRESTONPANS

INTRODUCTION

The manuscript, a transcription of which follows, is among the Murray-Threipland papers and is reproduced by kind permission of the late Colonel P. W. Murray-Threipland. It has no title but deals with the events from the arrival of Prince Charles at Loch nan Uamh on 25th July to 21st September, immediately before the Battle of Prestonpans.

It would seem to have been written by Ranald Macdonald, the young Clanranald, or by someone connected with him, as his part in the proceedings is emphasised. Unfortunately comparison between the present manuscript with letters in the autograph of the young Clanranald in the Stuart Papers at Windsor discloses no similarity in the handwriting. The manuscript is in an eighteenth-century hand, and Colonel Murray-Threipland suggested that it is perhaps a copy of a manuscript written by the young Clanranald made by one of the Murray-Threipland family at that time. Certainly the original manuscript, if this is not it, has disappeared, though Sir Walter Scott may have seen it as the note on page 216 would suggest. The late Miss Henrietta Tayler was unable to discover the writer as there is a pencil note in her hand on the folder which reads 'This has defeated me!' It was certainly written after October 1770, when Murray of Broughton succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his nephew, Sir David Murray (see p. 205, n. 2).

The contents of the manuscript are interesting and important, as at least one of the events chronicled as happening at the raising of the standard at Glenfinnan, namely, the way in which it was displayed, does not appear to have been noted before. Again the dispute about who should have the honour of fighting on the right of the army, is always understood to have taken place before the Battle

of Culloden. The writer here makes Clanranald claim the right for the Macdonalds before Prestonpans, and to some purpose.

All dates in the annotations are Old Style.

DONALD NICHOLAS.

AN ACCOUNT OF PROCEEDINGS FROM PRINCE CHARLES' LANDING TO PRESTONPANS

On the [1] day of July 1745 the P. arrived at Lochnanaugh in Arisaig in Clanranald's countrey and immediatly after the ship which brought him from the coasts of France had cast anchor, he was pleased to send Angus Mcdonald, Br. German to Mcdonald of Kinlochmoidart, from on board the ship,[2] and on his landing he aquainted young Clanranald [3] of his Hrs. arrival, which he did by sending an express to him from Kinlochmoidart's house, and after the ordinary compliments Mr. Mcdonald gave Clanranald to understand where the P. was.

On the same day, Clanranald, accompanied by Kinlochmoidart,[4] Mcdonald of Glenaladal and the before mentioned Angus Mcdonald, sett out from Kinlochmoidart House, and having taken the same boat that brought Angus Mcdonald to land, they arrivd about 7 of clock next morning on board the ship where the P. was, who received them very graciously.

After Clanranald had made some few complements to HRH the P. called for the D. of Athole [5] to come into the cabin, and before him he told Clanranald the reasons that

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[1] The *Du Teillay* dropped anchor traditionally in the shelter of Eilean nan Gobhar in Loch nan Uamh on 25 July. The Prince had landed for a night on Eriskay on the 23rd.

[2] Angus or Aeneas Macdonald. His home was Borradale House, Arisaig.

[3] Ranald Macdonald of Clanranald. His father, Old Clanranald, the laird, never himself ' came out ', though he helped the Prince considerably during his wanderings in the islands after Culloden. He was included in the Bill of Attainder of June 1746 and detained for some time in London on a charge of assisting the Prince in his escape. He was released in July 1747.

[4] Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart. Taken at Lesmahagow in November 1745, while on his way from Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat and MacLeod with a letter from the Prince, he was tried at Carlisle and executed there.

[5] William, Marquis of Tullibardine, eldest surviving son of the first Duke of Atholl. Attainted during the 1715 Rising, he was excluded by Act of Parliament from succeeding to the Dukedom which was inherited by his younger brother John in 1724.

had prevaild with him for coming to Scotld in the manner he did. After the P. had done speaking, Clanranald desird that His Hrs. would desir some of the other Gentlemen who were of his retinue to come down, and that he would also be pleasd to desir Kinlochmoidart and Glenaladale likewise to be brought in.

On this the Duke calld for Sr John Mcdonald [1] and Sr Thos. Sherridan [2] and the other two Gentlemen mentiond above desiring they would come down, and in their hearing Clanranald by the most convincing reasons endevourd to prevail on HRH either to return to France and wait for a more favourable opportunity or that he would be pleasd to keep himself privat in any part of his Estates that should be judgd most proper, until such time as his friends should be in a situation to serve him to better purpose than they could be supposd be on such unexpectd warning.

To this the P. said that he had laid down a resolution to make this attempt to see how his father's subjects would receive him, and that he was determind to put it to execution, and added that without loss of time he intended to sett up his Standard.

When Clanranald found the P. was inflexible and that he would not come into any of his proposals, he then advisd him to keep on board until such time as Sr Alexr McDonald, Mcleod, Cappock,[3] Lochiel and Appin should be advertisd of his arrival. To this the P. agreed and desird Clanranald would recommend to him a proper person to be sent south in order to aquaint the D. of Perth and the rest of his friends in that part of the Kingdom. On this Clanranald proposd Kinlochmoidart to HRH as a proper person to be trusted with an affair of such consequence.

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[1] An Irish soldier of fortune, a captain of Carabiniers in the French army of Spain. He was appointed by the Prince ' Instructor of Cavalry,' and seems to have been much addicted to the bottle. His memoirs, written in French, are in the *Stuart Papers* at Windsor.

[2] Sir Thomas Sheridan was over seventy at this date. His mother was said to have been a natural daughter of James II. A Catholic, he was made Governor of Prince Charles in 1725, and was with him at the siege of Gaeta. In 1744 the Prince wrote to his father and asked that Sheridan might join him. He died in Paris on his way to Rome, where he had been ordered to report to James after Culloden.

[3] [Keppoch].

Then the P. wrot. 3 letters with his own hand, one for the D. of Perth, another for the E. of Traquair,[1] and a 3d to Sr John Murray,[2] desiring them to advertise all his friends to be in readiness to join him, and accordingly Kinlochmoidart immediatly sett out for the D. of Perth's seat at Drd [3] Castle, and was ordered to aquaint Keppoch and Locheil in his way, for whom also he got letters for the purpose above mentioned.

Then the P. wrot. a letter to Sr Alexr Mcdonald and the Laird of Mcleod,[4] and desird that Clanranald would deliver it to them personally. The P. no doubt thought, and he had reason to think that Clanranald would be fitter for executing a message of such high importance than any gentleman of lower rank. Clanranald undertook cheerfully to execute this commission, but before he took journey, the P. desird he would choose some more convenient and secret place for the ship to ly in, till such time as he should return from the Isles of Skye where the Estates of Sr Alexr Mcdonald and the Laird of Mcleod lye, in regard that the place where the ship then lay at anchor was too much exposd to view of the enemies ships of war, and further that Clanranald would appoint a proper person to take care of the landing the arms on board the ship, and to get fresh provisions for the sailors, and for that purpose Glenaladale was appointed.

Clanranald on his way to Skye sent for Mcdonald the Younger of Scothouse [5] and desird him to go to the P. in order to receive a letter from him to Mcdonald of Glengarry the Elder. It was two days thereafter about midnight

[1] This is apparently the only mention of a letter sent by the Prince to Traquair at this time. Charles, the 5th Earl, was heavily involved in the transactions before the 1745 Rising, but he failed to keep his promises and to deliver letters entrusted to him by John Murray. Although arrested and confined for a time in the Tower, he managed to retain both his head and his estates and he died in 1764.

[2] John Murray of Broughton, who succeeded to the baronetcy in 1770 on the death of his nephew Sir David Murray.

[3] [Drummond].

[4] Both Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat and Norman MacLeod of MacLeod had agreed to assist him, if the Prince landed in Scotland. Both, however, refused to do so, informed the Government of his arrival and supplied men for the Government forces.

[5] Scotus in Knoidart. He was related to Macdonell of Glengarry.

befor. Clanranald could arrive at Dunveggan in the Isle of Skye, where he found the two gentlemen to whom he deliverd the P's letter, which they receivd in a very cool unbecoming manner, treating his undertaking with the fine name of a Don Quiksot's expedition, nor would they return any answer to the Prince's letter.

Sir Alex^{r} indeed had always said he never would join the R. cause without a foreign landing, but as for Mcleod he had never made any such provision. So Clanranald finding they would not stir, returnd to the P. on the 3 July, and as soon as he arrivd on board the ship, he took the D. of Athole, S^{r} John Mcdonald, S^{r} Th. Sherridan and young Scothouse down to the cabin, where he told the P. in few words the result of his Embassy to Skye, and insisted a 2^{d} time on the Pr following the advice he had given him at first, but if he would not and was fully determind to sett up his Standard, he had taken the resolution to spill the last drop of his blood in his cause, and never to part with him, tho none other should rise. Upon this the P. made him a present of a sword and said he did not doubt but that he would make use of it as his forfathers had always done for the defence of his king and country.

As yet the P. had received no answer from the rest of his friends except old Glengarry who offerd him that his men should be at HRH's service, upon which Young Scothouse was dispatchd with a 2^{d} message to Lochiel.

Young Clanranald then proposd to the P. that tho' he had provd unsuccessful at Skye, yet if his H. should think fitt to surprise them with a visit in person, probably his presence would awaken their reason, which the P. thought not proper to do, and desird to know where the most convenient place for landing the ship, which was still at anchor, was to be found, wch was agreed to be at Boradale in Arisaig, and next day the P. landed at the place appointed, and was guarded by a few of Clanranald's men already there.[1]

This evening Clanranald was informd that the Garrison

[1] The Prince landed on 4 August and took up his quarters at Borradale House.

at Fort Wm. had got intelligence of the P.'s arrival, and they had formd a design of surprising and of making him prisoner if they should find it by any means practicable, and for that end had sent Capt Campbel with a company of recruits newly raisd to march about by the hills of Ardgour. Clanranald without letting the P. know the information he had got of the intended surprise, told the Pr. that as now no time was to be lost, his own presence would be necessary for raising his men, and accordingly beggd the P. would allow him to sett out immediatly for that end. On this he left the P. with a design to intercept Cap^{n} Campbell, and he arrivd at Kinlochmoidart house where he found his information was well founded. Then he sent forthwith orders to raise as many men as could be got together so as to make as little noise as possible, and he himself went that night as far as Glenaladale where those he had sent befor him to observe Cap^{t} Cambell's motions were returnd, who gave him further information that Campbell was returnd to the garrison of Fort Wm.

When Clanranald found they were gone back, he went that night to Boradale in Arisaig where the P. had landed the day befor.

On the same day Lochiel arrivd they agreed what time the Standard should be sett up, and immediatly very pressing orders were dispatched to Mcdonell of Glengarry, Mcdonald of Keppoch, and Stuart of Appin, and such others as were near at hand to have all their men in readiness at the setting up of the Standard the 19th Aug. at Glenfinnan in Mcdonald of Clanranald's countrey within a few miles of the place where the P. first landed.

After the day of rendezvous was appointed, Lochiel went to his own estates to raise his men and the P. remaind with Clanranald where he took great pleasure in teaching the men their exercise, and the men were much delighted with HRH's presence, and would never leave him calling themselves his Guard of Safety.

On the 12 Aug. the P. sett out this morning from Boradale attended for the most part by the gentlemen of that countrey and lodged at the house of Kinlochmoidart that

night, where Jo^{n} Murray of Broughton was just arrivd. Clanranald stayd behind at Arisaig, preparing and amusing his men, and sending up provisions for the Camp which was to be at Glenfinnan.

It is not improper now to mention that Cap^{n} Walsh,[1] who commanded the ship that brought the Prince from France, took at the Sound of Glendy [2] six ships loaded with meal which he sent to Arisaig where the P. was, and the Highlanders who were very observant of omens look on this as and that portended great prosperity, and the P. who always studyd to gain the affection of his people, gave orders that the meal should be divided amongst them.

On the 18 Aug. the P. sett out from Kinlochmoidart and went to Glenfinnan that night, accompanied by the 7 gentlemen that attended him from France, viz. D. of Athole, S^{r} Tho. Sherridan, S^{r} Jo. Mcdonald, Angus Mcdonald, Bro German to Kinlochmoidart, S^{r} John O'Sulivan, Mr. G. Kelly, and Mr. Strickland, together with Young Clanranald who was the first that joind HRH after his arrival.

That night the P. was joind by Old Glenbucket who brought along with him Cap^{n} Swetenham [3] of Guise's Regiment taken prisoner two days befor by old Glengarry. H.R.H. stayd that night at Glenaladal's,[4] one of Clanranald's vassals who after the defeat of Culloden attended the P. for more than two months.

On the 19 Aug. about 7 in the morning, the P. set out for Glenfinnan where he arrivd at one of clock in the afternoon.

About 3 of clock thereafter Lochiel arrivd wth six hundred men, and about two hours thereafter H.R.H.

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[1] Captain Anthony Walsh, a shipowner of Nantes, who commanded the *Du Teillay*. After the landing at Loch nan Uamh he was knighted by the Prince and later made an Earl by James. He took sail from Loch nan Uamh on 12 August (*1745 and After*. A. & H. Tayler, London, 1938, p. 58.)

[2] Glendhu, east of Kylesku in Western Sutherland.

[3] Swetenham is usually said to have been captured by the Macdonalds of Keppoch.

[4] Alexander Macdonald of Glenaladale, nephew of Angus Macdonald of Borradale.

orderd his Standard to be carried to the other side of the river Finnan where it was displayd, wch was done by the D. of Athole carying it, and one hundred of Clanranald's men with himself at their head escorting it. Three hundred more of his men being drawn from the opposite to Lochiel's men on the other side of the river, all from the continent, such of Clanranald's men as were in the Isles to the number of about 600 more, not having it in their power to join the army ever after by reason of the short warning they had, and ships of war that then lay in those coasts, and wch stayed there till the beginning of Septr 1746, which made their joining the P. impractible.

The Royal Standard was displayd in the following manner, viz. as soon as the D. of Athole crossed the River, he gave the Standard into the P.'s hand who returnd it back to him wth orders to display it wch the Duke did standing in the middle of the Mcdonalds, and immediately the King's and Prince's declarations were read. After this all the highlanders threw their bonnets in the air and huzza'd 3 different times, crying alowd long live K. James the 8, and Charles P. of Wales, prosperity to Scotld and no union. When this ceremony was over, the D. returned with the Standard to H.R.H.'s quarters.

About 6 of clock in the evening McDonald of Keppoch arrivd with 350 men carrying along wth them two companys of Guise's Regiment, whom he had taken two days before at High Bridge as they were on their march to Fort Wm. About the same time Stuart of Innerhayle [1] came from Appin to aquaint the P. that his men would join him in a few days.

H.R.H. calld that night a Counsel of War, consisting of the D. of Athole, Clanranald, Lochiel, Keppoch, Jo. Murray Secretary and O'Sulivan, to consider of proper ways most effectively to encourage the rest of the highlanders to join his Standard, to fix the time of their departure from the place and also the rout they were to take.

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[1] Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle, who made Colonel Whiteford prisoner at Prestonpans. Sir Walter Scott used Invernahyle's description of this incident in *Waverley*, when Waverley takes Colonel Talbot prisoner.

In that Council it was resolvd that a 2^{d} message should without loss of time to be sent to S^{r} Alex^{r} McDonald and the Laird of Mcleod, in the names of Keppoch, Lochiel and Clanranald without mentioning the Prince, desiring them to stand by their neighbours and countreymen and assist in the R. cause wch message was sent by a gentleman of Mcleod's family, and expresses were likewise sent to severals such as L^{d} Lovat etc. As to the time of their departure, they fixd on the 23^{d}, judging it would take two days to bring up some arms. As to their rout it was resolvd they should direct their motions according to the intelligence they should gett Genl Cop, who as they hard, had march'd to Stirling.[1] Accordingly on the 23, the greatest part of the ammunition and the P's baggage being arrived, HRH marchd to the head of Lochiel where he incampd his army that night.[2] The next day he marchd his army to Kilmaly, and took up his own quarters at Fasifern in the house of M^{r} Jo. Cameron, Bro. German to Lochiel, and on the 24 he marchd to Moy in Lochabber where he waited for young Clanranald's coming up, who was left behind to give directions anent bringing forward the stores and ammunition for the army. On the 26 Clanranald came up wth the body of the army. That night one James McGregor [3] was sent southward to get intelligence as near as possible what number of forces Genl Cop had under his command. Here likewise arrived an express thst night from Glenbucket informing H.R.H. that Genl Cop was marchd as far as Dalnacardaick in Athole.

Next day being the 29 HRH crossed the river of Locky and encamped at the foot of Glenloy which is on the high road betwixt Fort Augustus and Fort Wm at a place called

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[1] Cope left Edinburgh for Stirling on 19th August and reached Dalwhinnie on the 26th.

[2] Other narratives insist that the Prince left Glenfinnan on the 21st, that he was at Kinlochiel on the 22nd and spent the night of the 23rd at Fassikern.

[3] James More Macgregor, Rob Roy's son. According to Murray, writing in his Journal, Macgregor had already been sent on one mission by him. When Murray joined Kinlochmoidart at Leny, near Callander, on his way to join the Prince, he had sent Macgregor to Edinburgh with false information.

Dalnacomar.[1] After they had rested there about an hour, and hearing from Glengary that Sir Jo. Cope was come to Badenoch, the army marchd to Lagan in Glengary where they encampd that night and the P. took up his quarters at the Castle of Invergary where Frazer of Gortuleg came to him with a message from Ld Lovat advising him to march by Stranarig [2] where he might raise the Frazers of that country. But his advice was not followd, the P. having resolvd to take possession of that pass of Corgarig befor Cope could be aware of it. In regard his marching to Stranarig would oblige him to leave that important pass open.

Next day H.R.H. marchd to Aberchalder when Glengary's men joind him to the number of 500 as did also the Stuarts of Appin being about 190. Having got intelligence that Genl. Cop was to march next day to Corgarig the army was orderd to be ready to march at 3 in the morning to take possession of that place and tho order of battle was fixd in case they should engage with Genl. Cope in this manner viz. That the Macdonalds were to have the right hand according to the established custom in the highlands, a privilege given them by the most ancient of Scots kings, and never was disputed with them. Accordingly at 3 in the morning the army began to march by a foot road that leads up directly to the pass above-mentioned by the way of Aberchalder, in order to shun the canon of Fort Augustus with which they would have been engaged had they marchd by the low country road. About 9 they were masters of the pass where they learnd that Genl. Cop had given them the slip, and had marchd the low road by Ruthven of Badenoch towards Inverness. However the P. marchd forward to Garvymore and on his arrival there he calld for the chiefs such as were in his army together with Clan-

[1] The Prince was at Letterfinlay on the 26th when, hearing that Cope intended to attack next morning, he sent a strong party to secure the Corrieyarick Pass, while he himself pushed on to Invergarry Castle, where he spent the night. On the 27th he was at Aberchalder; and on the 28th he and his army marched over the Corrieyarick and spent the night at Garvamore.

[2] Stratherrick.

ranald, Keppoch, Glengary's 2d son who commanded his father's men his eldest Br being at that time in France, Lochiel and Stuart of Ardsheel who commanded the Appin men, in order to consult what was most desirable to follow at this juncture, viz. whether they should pursue Cope who by this time had stoln a day's march of them and probably would be under the cover of the canon of Inverness befor they could come up to him, and it was resolvd to proceed on their march towards Athole.

That night a party was sent to take Cluny Mcpherson prisoner and another to try if possible to surprise the Fort of Ruthven of Badenoch. The last party was obligd to return to the army wth the loss of one man killed upon the spot, and 3 or 4 wounded without being able to get any manner of advantage of the garrison, and the other party returnd next morning and brought Cluny Mcpherson along wth them having found him at his own house.

On the 1st Septr the army marchd to Dalnacardach where they encampd that night. On the 2d the army marchd to Blair in Athole where the D. of Athole took possession of his lawful inheritance. Two days after the Ld Nairn and his Br and young Gask came and offerd their services to the P and several of the gentlemen of Athole came at the same time.

On the 5 Septr the P. marchd to Dunkeld, where he had rest a day befor Ld Nairn with Lochiel's Regiment took possession of the town of Perth. Next day as the army was under arms the P. got intelligence that a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition and some of the publick money was at the port of Dundee ready to be shippd off for Edinr, and that there was but a very small guard to escort it. Then H.R.H. orderd that Mcdonald of Keppoch wth a detachment of 150 men drawn out of different regts should march with the utmost diligence to Dundee and that, if possible, to seize the arms etc. before they were shippd off.

Meanwhile the army marchd towards the town of Perth, but halted at Ld Nairn's where H.R.H. was elegantly entertaind and the whole army refreshd at this Nobleman's

expense. About 7 at night the army arrivd at Perth where the Ld Ogilvy was ready to receive him as he arrived at the quarters appointed for him, and gave the P. assurances of his loyalty and of his readiness to join the R. cause.[1] The same evening the D. of Perth arrivd in that town from whence H.G. derives one of his titles, and got a commission of Lieutenant General. That night likewise Ld. G. Murray arrivd who by virtue of a Lieutenant Genl's Commission from the King got command of the army. About 2 in the afternoon, Keppoch who had been despatchd to Dundee in order to take possession of the arms etc., returnd to the army having receivd information that a strong party of the Ennemy were there. That night the D. of Perth wth the Stuarts of Appin to assist him, were sent to Crief in order to levy the publick taxes and to raise some of his Grace's vassals.

The P. observing that many of his men were ill-armed orderd Clanranald to march under cover of night towards Dundee and to make the utmost diligence to seize the ship with the arms and money, but the ship being saild befor he could reach Dundee, he siezed all the taxes, and proclaimd the King and read the declarations amidst the great acclamation of the people, and returnd to Perth where the P. was.

On the 9 Septr Strowan Robertson joind the P with near 300 men. Strowan had scarce payd his compliments to H.R.H. till Lochiel and he fell with a great dispute about near two thirds of his men, Lochiel insisting that they were his followers, and shewed an order from the P. for his warrant. Lochiel insisted in complying with the P's orders, and Strowan would by no means part with them, insisting that they were not Lochiel's followers but his, upon wch the men to the number of 190 went home and never offerd to join the P, refusing to follow any other than Strowan.

On the 11 all the parties that had been sent out (except Appin men who had been sent under the command of the

[1] The Highland army was at Dalnacardoch on 30th August, Blair from 31st August to 2nd September, Dunkeld on the 3rd and Perth from 4th to 10th September.

D. of Perth to raise the taxes of the countrey about Crief and to take possession of Dunblain) returned to the army. That day the P. marched to Dunblain but halted by the road and Ld. G. Murray's house where the P. was elegantly entertaind and the whole army well refreshd at that noble Lord's expense. On the 12 the army halted at Dunblain where McGregor of Glengyle joind the P. wth about 90 men, and brought wth him some few prisoners he had seized in the Garrison of Inversnaid. That night Mcdonald of Glencoe joind the army with an 100 men.

On the 13 the army crossd the Forth at the Fords of Frew and marchd to Touch where the army lay in the Park and the P. lay that night at the house of Touch. On this day Coll. Gardiner and his dragoons retreated to Falkirk. On the 14th the P. sent a message to the town of Stirling wich submitted, and the garrison retird to the Castle from whence they fird some canon at the army as they passd but did no execution. The army continued its march to Falkirk and lay in the parks of Calendar that night, and the P. lay in the house of Calendar which belongd to the E. of Kilmarnock who gave H.H. assurances of his loyalty, and afterwards on all accusations gave signal proof both of courage and loyalty notwithstanding his behaviour on the scaffold wch ought to be attributed more to the treachery of his ennemies than want of courage of men he gave serveral proofs during the time the army was on foot. This Ld. aquaintd the P. that Coll. Gardiner, wth his dragoons had resolvd to dispute the passage of the bridge of Linlithgow, an wch Coll. O'Sullivan wth 900 choice men drawn out of the different clans, was sent to disloge him, but he retreated with his dragoons to Kirklington before the party cam in sight of him.

On the 15 the army marchd to Linlithgow where they halted a few hours, and lay that night in a field two miles nearer Edin^{r}. On the 16 the army marchd towards Kirklington and the dragoons retired to Corstorphine and while the Prince's army was in their march [to] Kirkliston, the Dragoons retird to the Coltbridge where they were joind by Hamilton's dragoons. There they resolvd to make a

stand, but 900 men who were chosen out of all the different corps being sent under Ld. G. Murray's command to attack them, they retired to Musselburgh.

There being no way to advance further by the Edin^{r} road without exposing the army to the canon of the castle, they struck off to the right and the P. lay that night at a place called Grays Mill, the army lying in the fields adjacent. Here the P. was joind by Ld Elcho. A deputation came that night from the city of Edin^{r}, but their first instructions not being supple enough, they beggd leave to bring further instructions, wch was granted them. But these being no more agreeable than the first, Keppoch, Lochiel and O'Sulivan were sent with 900 men detachd from all the different corps to surprise the town which they succeeded by means of a coach wch was accidentally coming out at the nether gate as they came befor it. They immediatly rushed in, seized all the city guards and disarmd them after making themselves masters of the other principle parts of the town. They sent to aquaint the P. who marchd with the rest of the army by Braidburn, Grange, Priestfield, and Duddingston where he made a breach in the King's Park and came that way to the back of Salisbury crags, where the men lay some time under cover from the canon of the castle. The P. went to the palace of Holyroodhouse, and took up his quarters in the D. of Hamilton's Lodgings, none of the R. apartments being in repair, Crowds of people of all ranks coming down to see him. About ii of clock that same day, the K. was proclaimd by the heralds, and all the Manifestos publishd at the Cross of Edin^{r} in form. There was a guard of 400 men placd in the town to watch the Castle, another guard of 200 in the Canongate, and an 100 to guard the P. at the palace. There was found in the town 1200 stand of arms quite new.

On the 20 a message was sent to the magistrates ordring them to get ready tents, cantines and targets wch the army stood in need of. As the citizens were to furnish them, a meeting of the inhabitants was calld and taxed according to their rents. In the meantime an account came that Gnl Cope was landed at Dunbar and that he was joind by

Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons that had retreated to Musselburgh and from there to Haddington on the Prince's approach to Edin^{r}. That piece of news made the P. leave Edin^{r} that night, and march out to Duddingston where the men lay in a field near that place. Here the P. was joind by some of the Athole men and some of S^{r} Robt Menzies men under the command of Menzies of Shiea [1] recond in all about 400 or 500 men. Having got further intelligence that night that Genl. Cope was on his march, it was resolvd to march next day to meet him and offer him battle befor he could come to Edin^{r}. As the order of battle was drawing up, Lochiel insisted on getting the right of the army which was strenuously opposed by young Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengary's brother, who represented to H.R.H. the long time the name of Mcdonald had been in possession of that honourable privilege granted by H.R.H.'s predecessor wch nobody till that time offrd to dispute.[2]

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[1] Menzies of Shian. This seems to confirm Sir Walter Scott's statement in *Tales of a Grandfather* that 350 Atholmen and 300 men under Menzies of Shian were in the Highland army at Prestonpans. W. B. Blaikie could find no authority for Sir Walter's statement.

[2] Clanranald won his point here, though it seems that it was forgotten at Culloden.

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REPORT OF THE SIXTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

The Sixty-ninth Annual Meeting of the Scottish History Society was held in the Rooms of the Royal Society on Saturday, 17th December 1955, at 3 p.m.

The Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston, C.H., LL.D., President of the Society, was in the Chair.

The Report of the Council was as follows :—

The Council have learned with deep regret of the death of the Right Honourable Lord Cooper of Culross, P.C., LL.D., which occurred in July. An eminent lawyer and historical scholar, Lord Cooper joined the Society in 1934 and held the office of President from 1946 to 1950. His four addresses, delivered at the annual meetings and subsequently printed under the title *Supra Crepidam*, were outstanding in the annals of the Society. Alike by precept and example he did much to promote the study of Scottish history.

An Account of the Proceedings of the Estates in Scotland, Volume II, edited by Dr. E. W. M. Balfour-Melville, was issued to members at the beginning of July as the volume for 1952-53. Covering the period 3rd September 1689-18th October 1690, it brings the tale of the Jacobite rising down to the surrender at Clunie and narrates the parliamentary proceedings in both sessions of the latter year, including among other matters the Presbyterian settlement of the Church. A contemporary account of the meeting of Scottish lords and gentlemen with William of Orange on his arrival in London is given in an appendix.

As the volume for 1953-54 members will receive *Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1423-1428*, edited by Mrs. Annie I.

Dunlop and presented by her to the Society in memory of her husband, and as a tribute to the late Monsignore Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican archives. Its text is in page proof and the introduction and index are almost completed. The volume for 1954-55 will be *Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, edited by Professor W. Croft Dickinson. The text of this is now with the printer. It will be followed by a *Miscellany Volume* to include five items, which deal with the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively.

The Society was represented by Mrs. Dunlop and the Secretary at the Tenth World Congress of Historical Sciences held at Rome in September, where a number of the Society's recent volumes were on exhibition.

Dr. G. S. Pryde, the Rev. Donald Mackinnon and Mr. R. L. Mackie retire in rotation from the Council at this time. The Council recommend their re-election.

During the past year 10 Members have died, 1 has resigned and the names of 5 others have been removed on failure to pay their subscriptions. 21 new Members have joined and 1 Member who resigned during the year 1953-54 has re-joined. The total Membership, including 155 Libraries, is now 412.

An abstract of the Accounts for 1954-55, as audited, is appended.

In the absence through illness of Mr. R. C. Reid, Chairman of Council, Professor W. Croft Dickinson moved the adoption of the Report and Accounts. He said that in these days of high printing costs the work of the Society must depend on the loyalty of its members and their endeavours to persuade all who were interested in Scotland's past to join it.

Seconding, Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran, Bt., said that the Council was occasionally criticised for publishing too much of specialised interest, but he hoped that the two volumes of *Proceedings of the Estates*, which could be read by anyone with the least interest in Scottish History, would do something to attract a wider membership.

The President then delivered his address, entitled 'Heritage'. He said that the fact that over 112,000 adults listened to the B.B.C.s weekly broadcast story of 'Heritage' last winter was a fact of major significance which might have some repercussions in other spheres.

Scots history, if one was to judge from the practice of the Universities' Degree pass regulations, was not regarded as a subject of prime educational importance. There were, of course, the history classes in the schools, where romance and some highly coloured selective anecdotage fought their ways to the stimulation of our youth, but never before had there been such an adult audience to the Scots history lessons.

Half the scripts were history, or were at any rate upon historical subjects, and they must undoubtedly have stimulated in many quarters a love of our country and a knowledge of its past. With all their deficiencies and partialities, they must have instilled into a generation of Scots, who were in danger of passing by in ignorance, something of the glories and struggles of their forebears. Such knowledge could not surely make them less worthy citizens in this twentieth century.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Johnston for his address and his two years' occupancy of the Presidency was moved by Dr. H. W. Meikle.

ABSTRACT Account of Charge and Discharge of the Intromissions of the Honorary Treasurer for the year from 1st November 1954 to 31st October 1955.

I. GENERAL ACCOUNT.

CHARGE.

I.	Cash in Bank at 1st November 1954 :—			
	1. Sum at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland . . .		£368 12 2	
	2. Sum at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland . . .		6 2 5	
	3. Cash in hands of Bank of Scotland to meet postages		0 8 8½	
			£375 3 3½	
II.	Subscriptions received . . .		443 9 7	
III.	Past Publications sold (including postages recovered from purchasers) . .		43 19 4	
IV.	Interest on Savings Account with Bank of Scotland		6 15 4	
V.	Refund of Income Tax . . .		70 7 8	
VI.	Grant from Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland towards Volumes 46 and 47		200 0 0	
VII.	Miscellaneous		0 4 1	
VIII.	Sums drawn from Bank Current Account .	£652 9 2*		
IX.	Sums drawn from Bank Savings Account .	£0 0 0		
			£1139 19 3½	

* This sum includes £214, 11s. referred to in Dr. Dunlop's Special Fund Account.

DISCHARGE.

I. Cost of Publications during year . .		£340 7 0	
Cost of printing Annual Report, Receipt Forms and Printers' postages, etc. .		48 18 5	
		£389 5 5	
II. Miscellaneous Payments . . .		48 7 6½	
III. Sums lodged in Bank Current Account .	£972 11 8*		
IV. Sums lodged in Bank Savings Account .	£6 15 4		
V. Funds at close of this Account :—			
1. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland . .	£375 7 6		
2. Balance at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland . .	326 4 11		
3. Cash in hands of Bank of Scotland to meet current postages . .	0 13 11		
		702 6 4	
		£1139 19 3½	

* This sum includes £214, 11s. referred to in Dr. Dunlop's Special Fund Account.

II. DR. ANNIE I. DUNLOP SPECIAL FUND ACCOUNT.

CHARGE.

I. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland at 1st November 1954 .		£375	3 3
II. Third payment received under Deed of Covenant dated 16th January 1953 .		100	0 0
III. Interest on Savings Account with Bank of Scotland		5	4 6
IV. Refund of Income Tax		81	16 4
V. Sum drawn from Bank Savings Account . .	£214 11 0		
		£562	4 1

DISCHARGE.

I. Sums lodged in Bank Savings Account . .	£187 0 10		
II. Cost of ' Calendar of Supplications to Rome ' to 24th October 1955		£214	11 0
III. Fund at close of this Account :— Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland		347	13 1
		£562	4 1

EDINBURGH, 10*th November* 1955.—I have examined the General Account and Dr. Annie I. Dunlop Special Fund Account of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year from 1st November 1954 to 31st October 1955, and I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched.

HENRY M. PATON,
Auditor.

Scottish History Society

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1*st November* 1955

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